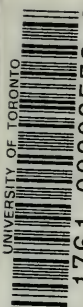
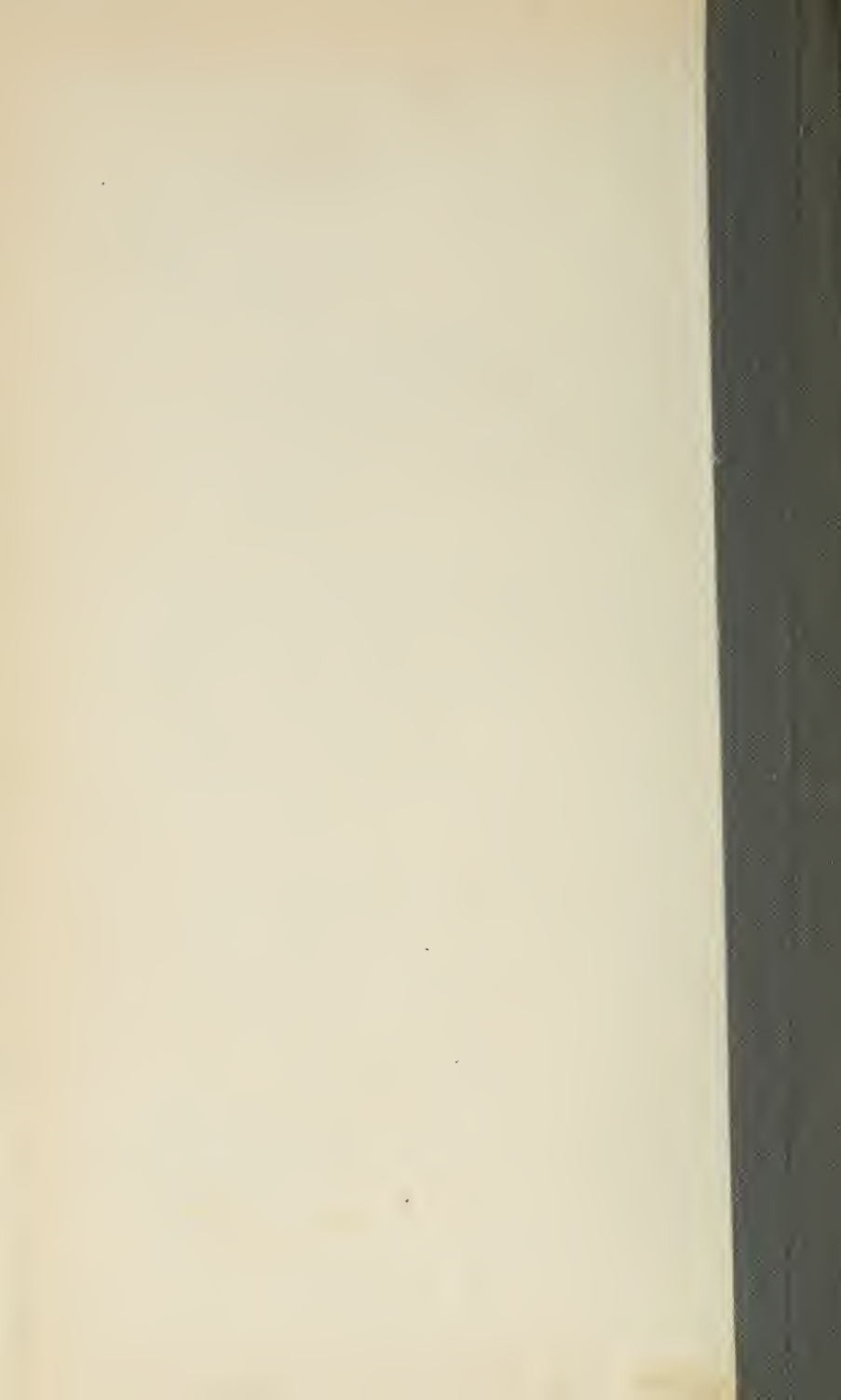


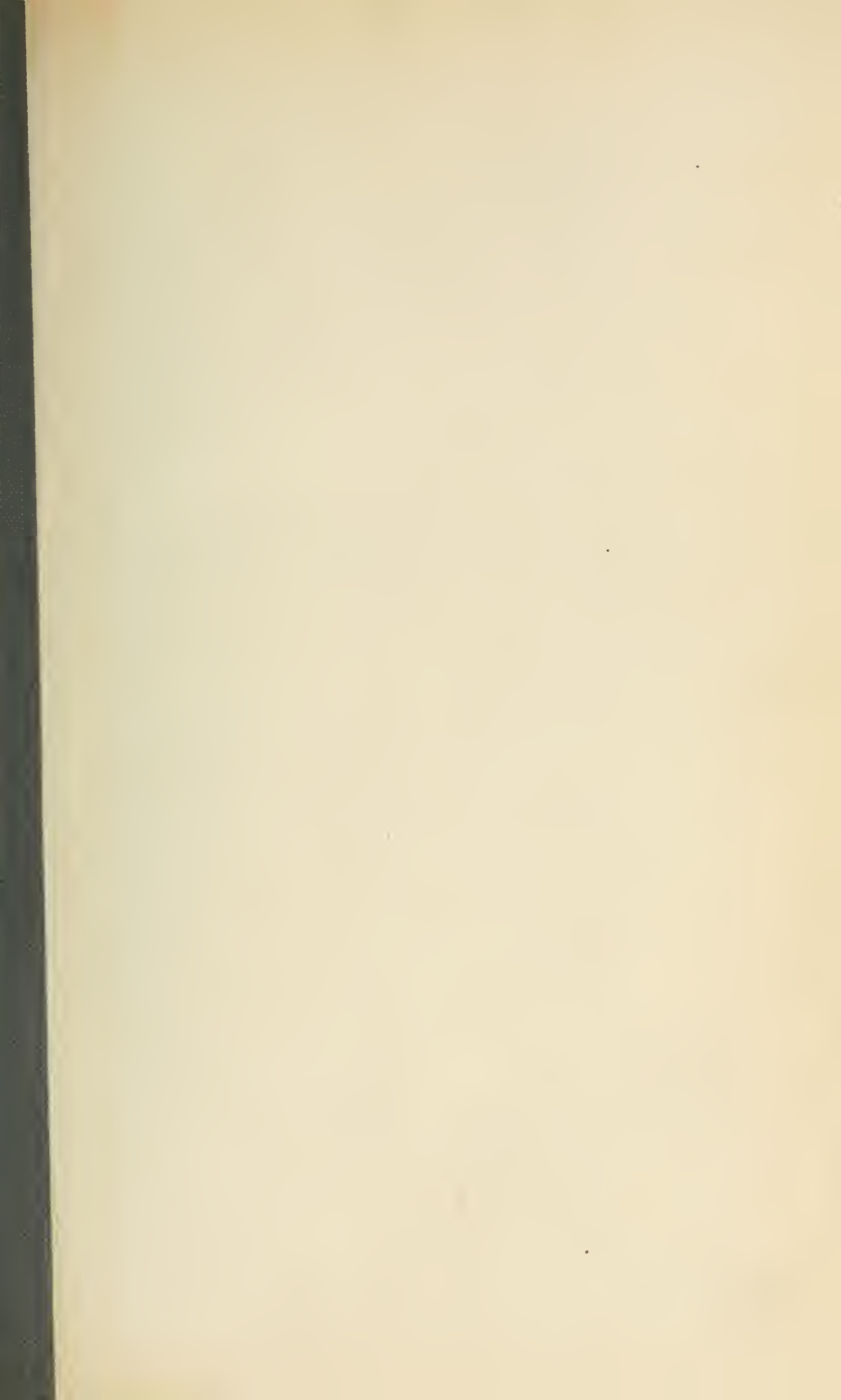
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A Booke of Precedence, &c.,

with Essays on

Italian and German Books of Courtesy.

Early English Text Society.

Extra Series. No. VIII.

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Queene Elizabethes Achademy

(BY SIR HUMPHREY GILBERT)

A Booke of Precedence

The Ordering of a Funerall, &c.

Varying Versions of

The Good Wife, The Wise Man, &c.

Maxims, Tydgate's Order of Fools,

A Poem on Heraldry, Occlebe on Lords' Men, &c.

Edited by

F. J. FURNIVALL, M.A., TRIN. HALL, CAMB.

With Essays on

Early Italian and German Books of
Courtesy

by

W. M. ROSSETTI, ESQ., & E. OSWALD, ESQ.

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FOREWORDS.

THIS volume is meant as a kind of small brother to our fat Babees Book of 1868. It has been produced mainly to let the reader see the very interesting account in Part II. of early Italian Courtesy books by Mr W. M. Rossetti, and the more elaborate essay on the earliest German one (by an Italian) by Mr E. Oswald. To these I have added a very short, bare sketch of the curious early French treatise on the spiritual, social, and household duties of a wife, about 1393 A.D., *Le Ménagier de Paris*, a book to be read by all readers of 'The Knight de la Tour Landry.'¹ Part II. I look on as the body of this second Babee; Part I. as its frock or coat. Still, I hope that the stuff and trimmings of the boy's garment will be found worthy of examination, as well as his eyes and legs.

The first tract in Part I., *Queene Elizabethes Academy*,² is printed, I. because it is another scheme drawn up for the same end as Sir Nicholas Bacon's for the bringing up of the Queen's wards, mentioned on pages xxii, xxiii of the Forewords to the *Babees Book*, on the authority of Mr Payne Collier, and displays more fully than my cutting-down of Mr Collier's sketch, 'the course of study of well-bred youths

¹ I hoped to have added an account from the pen of Mr F. W. Cosens, of an Early Spanish MS, in the Madrid Library, of a Mother's Instructions to her Daughter; but it will take too much time to get the MS copied, &c. Perhaps enough material for another volume on Manners and Courtesy will turn up by the time the Spanish poem is ready.

² I ask readers to correct ('of) *will*, (religion'), l. 7 of text, to '*evil*,' and cut out the comma after it.

in the early years of Elizabeth's reign'; 2. because it is an admirable scheme of Educational Reform; and 3. because the Reformer is Sir Humphrey Gilbert,¹ one of the ablest and gallantest men of the Elizabethan age. Some of my readers may know the account of him in Hakluyt; and others, that in Mr Froude's noble article in the *Westminster* on "England's Forgotten Worthies." At any rate, here is the latter, to give pleasure to all who read it:

Some two miles above the port of Dartmouth, once among the most important harbours in England, on a projecting angle of land which runs out into the river at the head of one of its most beautiful reaches, there has stood for some centuries the Manor House of Greenaway. The water runs deep all the way to it from the sea, and the largest vessels may ride with safety within a stone's throw of the windows. In the latter half of the sixteenth century there must have met, in the hall of this mansion, a party as remarkable as could have been found anywhere in England. Humfrey and Adrian Gilbert, with their half-brother, Walter Raleigh, here, when little boys, played at sailors in the reaches of Long Stream; in the summer evenings doubtless rowing down with the tide to the port, and wondering at the quaint figure-heads and carved prows of the ships which thronged it; or climbing on board, and listening, with hearts beating, to the mariners' tales of the new earth beyond the sunset. And here in later life matured men, whose boyish dreams had become heroic action, they used again to meet in the intervals of quiet, and the rock is shown underneath the house where Raleigh smoked the first tobacco. Another remarkable man, of whom we shall presently speak more closely, could not fail to have made a fourth at these meetings. A sailor boy of Sandwich, the adjoining parish, John Davis, showed early a genius which could not have escaped the eye of such neighbours, and in the atmosphere of Greenaway he learned to be as noble as the Gilberts, and as tender and delicate as Raleigh. Of this party, for the present we confine ourselves to the host and owner, Humfrey Gilbert, knighted afterwards by Elizabeth. Led by the scenes of his childhood to the sea and to sea adventures, and afterwards, as his mind unfolded, to study his profession scientifically, we find him, as soon as he was old enough to think for himself or make others listen to him, 'amending the great errors of naval sea cards, whose common fault is to make the degree of longitude in every latitude of one common bigness;' inventing instruments for taking observations, studying the form of the earth, and convincing himself that there was a north-west passage, and studying the necessities of his country, and

¹ It has Lord Burghley's endorsement on it [S^r Humf. Gilbert for an Academy of y^e wardes], but is without date. It was probably laid before the Queen about the year 1570. (Sir H. Ellis in *Archæologia*, XXI., p. 506.)

discovering the remedies for them in colonisation and extended markets for home manufactures. Gilbert was examined before the Queen's Majesty and the Privy Council, and the record of his examination he has himself left to us in a paper which he afterwards drew up, and strange enough reading it is. The most admirable conclusions stand side by side with the wildest conjectures.

Homer and Aristotle are pressed into service to prove that the ocean runs round the three old continents, and that America therefore is necessarily an island. The Gulf Stream, which he had carefully observed, eked out by a theory of the *primum mobile*, is made to demonstrate a channel to the north, corresponding to Magellan's Straits in the south, Gilbert believing, in common with almost every one of his day, that these straits were the only opening into the Pacific, and the land to the South was unbroken to the Pole. He prophesies a market in the East for our manufactured linen and calicoes :—

"The Easterns greatly prizing the same, as appeareth in Hester, where the pomp is expressed of the great King of India, Ahasuerus, who matched the coloured clothes wherewith his houses and tents were apparelled, with gold and silver, as part of his greatest treasure."

These, and other such arguments, were the best analysis which Sir Humphrey had to offer of the spirit which he felt to be working in him. We may think what we please of them; but we can have but one thought of the great grand words with which the memorial concludes, and they alone would explain the love which Elizabeth bore him :—

¹ "Desiring you hereafter neuer to mislike with me, for the taking in hande of any laudable and honest enterprise: for if through pleasure or idlenesse we purchase shame, the pleasure vanisheth, but the shame remaineth for euer.

"And therefore to giue me leaue without offence, alwayes to liue and die in this mind, That he is not worthy to liue at all, that for feare, or danger of death, shunneth his countries seruice and his owne honour, seeing death is ineuitable and the fame of vertue immortall. Wherefore in this behalfe, *Mutare vel timere sperno*."²

Two voyages which he undertook at his own cost, which shattered his fortune, and failed, as they naturally might, since inefficient help or mutiny of subordinates, or other disorders, are inevitable conditions under which more or less great men must be content to see their great thoughts mutilated by the feebleness of their instruments, did not dishearten him; and in June 1583 a last fleet of five ships

¹ I quote the extracts from Hakluyt, instead of Mr Froude's modernized versions.

² His [Raleigh's] half-brother, Sir Humphrey Gilbert, having obtained a patent to colonize some parts of North America, he embarked in this adventure; but meeting with a Spanish fleet, after a smart engagement, they returned without success, in 1579.—*Platt*, v. 231.

sailed from the port of Dartmouth, with commission from the queen to discover and take possession from latitude 45° to 50° North—a voyage not a little noteworthy, there being planted in the course of it the first English colony west of the Atlantic. Elizabeth had a foreboding that she would never see him again. She sent him a jewel as a last token of her favour, and she desired Raleigh to have his picture taken before he went.

The history of the voyage was written by a Mr Edward Hayes, of Dartmouth, one of the principal actors in it, and as a composition it is more remarkable for fine writing than any very commendable thought in the author. But Sir Humfrey's nature shines through the infirmity of his chronicler; and in the end, indeed, Mr Hayes himself is subdued into a better mind. He had lost money by the voyage, and we will hope his higher nature was only under a temporary eclipse. The fleet consisted (it is well to observe the ships and the size of them) of the *Delight*, 120 tons; the barque *Raleigh*, 200 tons (this ship deserted off the Land's End); the *Golden Hinde* and the *Swallow*, 40 tons each; and the *Squirrel*, which was called the frigate, 10 tons. For the uninitiated in such matters, we may add, that if in a vessel the size of the last, a member of the Yacht Club would consider that he had earned a club-room immortality, if he had ventured a run in the depth of summer from Cowes to the Channel Islands.

"We were in number in all (says Mr Hayes) about 260 men: among whom we had of every faculty good choice, as shipwrights, masons, carpenters, smithes, and such like, requisite to such an action; also, minerall men and refiners. Besides, for solace of our people, and allurement of the Sauages, we were provided of Musike in good variety: not omitting the least toyes, as Morris dancers, Hobby horse[s], and May-like conceits to delight the Sauage people."

The expedition reached Newfoundland without accident. St John's was taken possession of, and a colony left there; and Sir Humfrey then set out exploring along the American coast to the south, he himself doing all the work in his little 10-ton cutter, the service being too dangerous for the larger vessels to venture on. One of these had remained at St John's. He was now accompanied only by the *Delight* and the *Golden Hinde*, and these two keeping as near the shore as they dared, he spent what remained of the summer examining every creek and bay, marking the soundings, taking the bearings of the possible harbours, and risking his life, as every hour he was obliged to risk it in such a service, in thus leading, as it were, the forlorn hope in the conquest of the New World. How dangerous it was we shall presently see. It was towards the end of August.

"The cuening was faire and pleasant, yet not without token of storme to ensue, and most part of this Wednesday night like the Swanne that singeth before her death, they in the Admiral or *Delight* continued in sounding of Trumpets with Drummes and Fifes;

also winding the Cornets and Haughtboyes, and in the end of their iollitie left with the battell and ringing of dolefull knels."

Two days after came the storm; the Delight struck upon a bank, and went down in sight of the other vessels, which were unable to render her any help. Sir Humfrey's papers, among other things, were all lost in her; at the time considered by him an irreparable misfortune. But it was little matter, he was never to need them. The Golden Hinde and the Squirrel were now left alone of the five ships. The provisions were running short, and the summer season was closing. Both crews were on short allowance; and with much difficulty Sir Humfrey was prevailed upon to be satisfied for the present with what he had done, and to lay off for England.

"So vpon Saturday, in the aftermoone, the 31 of August, we changed our course, and returned backe for England, at which very instant, euen in winding about, there passed along betweene vs and towards the land which we now forsooke, a very lion, to our seeming, in shape, hair, and colour; not swimming after the maner of a beast by moouing of his feete, but rather sliding vpon the water with his whole body, excepting the legs, in sight; neither yet diuing vnder and againe rising aboue the water, as the maner is of Whales, Dolphins, Tunise, Porposes, and all other fish; but confidently shewing himselfe aboue water without hiding, Notwithstanding, we presented ourselves in open view and gesture to amase him, as all creatures will be commonly at a sudden gaze and sight of men. Thus he passed along, turning his head to and fro, yawning and gaping wide, with ougly demonstration of long teeth and glaring eies; and, to bidde vs a farewell, comming right against the Hinde, he sent forth a horrible voyce, roaring or bellowing as doeth a lion, which spectacle wee all beheld so farre as we were able to discerne the same, as men prone to wonder at euery strange thing, as this doubtlesse was, to see a lion in the ocean sea, or fish in the shape of a lion. What opinion others had thereof, and chiefly the Generall himselfe, I forbear to deliuer. But he took it for *Bonum Omen*, reioycing that he was to warre against such an enemie, if it were the deuill."

We have no doubt that he did think it was the devil; men in those days believing really that evil was more than a principle or a necessary accident, and that in all their labour for God and for right, they must make their account to have to fight with the devil in his proper person. But if we are to call it superstition, and if this were no devil in the form of a roaring lion, but a mere great seal or sea-lion, it is a more innocent superstition to impersonate so real a power, and it requires a bolder heart to rise up against it and defy it in its living terror, than to sublimate it away into a philosophical principle, and to forget to battle with it in speculating on its origin and nature. But to follow the brave Sir Humfrey, whose work of fighting with the devil was now over, and who was passing to his reward. The 2nd of September the General came on board the Golden Hinde 'to

make merry with us.' He greatly deplored the loss of his books and papers, but he was full of confidence from what he had seen, and talked with eagerness and warmth of the new expedition for the following spring. Apocryphal gold-mines still occupying the minds of Mr Hayes and others, they were persuaded that Sir Humphrey was keeping to himself some such discovery which he had secretly made, and they tried hard to extract it from him. They could make nothing, however, of his odd ironical answers, and their sorrow at the catastrophe which followed is sadly blended with disappointment that such a secret should have perished. Sir Humphrey doubtless saw America with other eyes than theirs, and gold-mines richer than California in its huge rivers and savannahs.

'Leaving the issue of this good hope [about the gold], (continues Mr Hayes), vnto God, who knoweth the trueth only, and can at his good pleasure bring the same to light, I will hasten to the end of this tragedie, which must be knit vp in the person of our Generall. And as it was God's ordinance vpon him, euen so the vehement persuasion and intreatie of his friends could nothing auaille to diuert him from a wilfull resolution of going through in his frigate; . . . and when he was intreated by the captaine, master, and others, his well-wishers of the Hinde, not to venture in the Frigate, this was his answere—"I will not forsake my little company going homeward, with whom I have passed so many stormes and perils."'

Two-thirds of the way home, they met foul weather and terrible seas, 'breaking short and pyramid wise.' Men who had all their lives 'occupied the sea' had never seen it more outrageous. 'We had also vpon our maine-yard an apparition of a little fire by night, which seamen doe call Castor and Pollux.'

"Munday, the ninth of September, in the afternoone, the Frigate was neere cast away, oppressed by waues, yet at that time recovered, and giuing foorth signes of ioy, the Generall, sitting abaft with a booke in his hand, cried out vnto vs in the Hind so oft as we did approach within hearing, "We are as neere to heauen by sea as by land," reiterating the same speech, well beseeming a souldier resolute in Iesus Christ, as I can testifie he was. The same Monday night, about twelue of the clocke or not long after, the Frigate being ahead of vs in the Golden Hinde, suddenly her lights were out, whereof as it were in a moment we lost the sight; and withall our watch cried, the General was cast away, which was too true.

"Thus faithfully (concludes Mr Hayes, in some degree rising above himself) I have related this story, wherein may alwaies appeare though he be extinguished, some sparkes of the Knight's vertues, he remaining firme and resolute in a purpose by all pretence honest and godly as was this, to discouer, possesse, and to reduce vnto the service of God and Christian pietie, those remote and heathen Countreys of America. . . . Such is the infinite bountie of God, who from euery euill deriueth good. For besides that fruite may growe in time of our

travelling into those Northwest lands,¹ the crosses, turmoiles, and afflictions, both in the preparation and execution of this voyage, did correct the intemperate humors which before we noted to bee in this gentleman, and made vnsauorie and lesse delightfull his other manifold vertues.

"Then as he was refined and made neerer drawing vnto the image of God, so it pleased the diuine will to resume him vnto himselfe, whither both his and euey other high and noble minde haue alwayes aspired."

Such was Sir Humfrey Gilbert; still in the prime of his years when the Atlantic swallowed him. Like the gleam of a landscape lit suddenly for a moment by the lightning, these few scenes flash down to us across the centuries: but what a life must that have been of which this was the conclusion! We have glimpses of him a few years earlier, when he won his spurs in Ireland—won them by deeds which to us seem terrible in their ruthlessness, but which won the applause of Sir Henry Sidney as too high for praise or even reward. Chequered like all of us with lines of light and darkness, he was, nevertheless, one of a race which has ceased to be. We look round for them, and we can hardly believe that the same blood is flowing in our veins. Brave we may still be, and strong perhaps as they, but the high moral grace² which made bravery and strength so beautiful is departed from us for ever.—Froude's *Short Studies on Great Subjects*; vol. ii. p. 136-45.

¹ Hayes says further:—

'These considerations may helpe to suppress all dreads rising of hard euents in attempts made this way by other nations, as also of the heauy succeesse and issue in the late enterprise made by a worthy gentleman our countryman Sir Humfrey Gilbert, Knight, who was the first of our nation that caried people to erect an habitation and gouernment in those Northerly countreys of America. About which, albeit he had consumed much substance, and lost his life at last, his people also perishing for the most part: yet the mystery thereof we must leaue vnto God, and iudge charitably both of the cause (which was iust in all pretence) and of the person, who was very zealous in prosecuting the same, deseruing honourable remembrance for his good minde, and expense of life in so vertuous an enterprise. Whereby neuerthelesse, least any man should be dismayd by example of other folks calamity, and misdeeme that God doth resist all attempts intended that way: I thought good, so farre as myselfe was an eye witnesse, to deliuer the circumstance and maner of our proceedings in that action: in which the gentleman was so infortunatly incumbered with wants, and woorse matched with many ill disposed people, that his rare iudgement and regiment premeditated for those affaires, was subiected to tolerate abuses, and in sundry extremities to holde on a course, more to vpholde credit, then likely in his owne conceit happily to succeed.'—*Hakluyt's Voyages*, vol. iii. p. 145.

² Compare 'the intemperate humours' of which Hayes speaks above. I don't believe Mr Froude's conclusion a bit, though it was generous in him to write it. The Victorian gentleman mayn't have so much devil in him, or break out into such humours, as the Elizabethan: but in moral grace he is far ahead of him. Self-restraint and moral grace have grown in the latter days.

Some other details as to Sir Humphrey's early life are given in Platt's *Universal Biography*,¹ and follow here :

"Sir Humphrey Gilbert, a brave officer and navigator, born about 1539, in Devonshire, of an ancient and honourable family. He inherited a considerable fortune from his father. He was educated at Eton and Oxford. Being introduced at court by his aunt, Mrs Catharine Ashley, then in the Queen's service, he was diverted from the study of the law, and commenced soldier. Having distinguished himself in several military expeditions, particularly that of Newhaven, in 1563, he was sent over to Ireland to assist in suppressing a rebellion, where, for his singular services, he was made commander-in-chief and governor of Munster, and knighted by the lord deputy, Sir Henry Sydney, Jan. 1, 1570. He returned soon after to England, where he married a rich heiress. In 1572 he sailed with a squadron of nine ships to reinforce colonel Morgan, who meditated the recovery of Flushing. In 1576 he published his book on the north-west passage to the East Indies. In 1578 he obtained an ample patent, empowering him to possess in North America any lands then unsettled. He sailed to Newfoundland, but soon after returned to England without success ; nevertheless, in 1583 he embarked a second time with five ships, the largest of which put back on account of a contagious distemper on board. He landed at Newfoundland on the 3rd of August, and on the 5th took possession of the harbour of St John's. By virtue of his patent he granted leases to several people ; but though none of them remained there at that time, they settled afterwards in consequence of these leases ; so that Sir Humphrey deserves to be remembered as the real founder of the vast American empire. On the 20th of August he put to sea again, on board a small sloop, which on the 29th foundered in a hard gale of wind. Thus perished Sir Humphrey Gilbert, a man of quick parts, a brave officer, a good mathematician, a skilful navigator, and of a very enterprising genius. He was also remarkable for his eloquence, being much admired for his patriotic speeches in the English and Irish Parliaments. His work entitled 'A Discourse to prove a passage by the north-west to Cathaia and the East Indies,' is a masterly performance, and is preserved in Hakluyt's collection of voyages, vol. iii. p. 11. The style is superior to most, if not to all, the writers of that age, and shows the author to have been a man of considerable reading."—*Platt's Universal Biography*, vol. v. p. 219.

The Poet Gascoigne, in his Epistle to the Reader, in *A Discourse for a new Passage to Cataia*. Written by Sir Humphrey Gilbert,

¹ See also Camden's *Elizabeth*, p. 287 ; Wood's *Athenæ Oxonienses*, by Bliss ; Rose's *Biogr. Dict. ; Pict. Hist. of England*, ii. 791.

Knight, imprinted, A.D. 1576,¹ says of the 'right worshipful and my very friend,' the author :

"In whose commendation I woulde fayne write as muche as hee deserueth, were I not afrayde to bee condemned by him of flatterie, which blame (with my friendes) I vse not to deserue. But surely, over and besides that, hee is a gentleman wel and worshipfully borne and bredde, and well tryed to bee valiant in martiall affayres, wherby hee hath worthely beene constituted a coronell and generall in places requisite, and hath with sufficiencie discharged the same, both in this Realme, and in forreigne Nations : hee is also indued with sundrie great gyftes of the minde, and generally well giuen to th' aduancemente of knowledge and vertue. All whiche good partes I rather set downe constrained by the present occasion, then prompted by any vaine desire to currie fauoure with my friende. For his vertues are sufficient to praise themselves. And it shalbe a sufficient conclusion for my prayses, to wishe that our realme had store of suche Gentlemen."²

The contents of Sir Humphrey's scheme bear out fully all that was said in the Forewords to the *Babees Book* on the neglect of education by the English nobility and gentry. 'Whereas now the most parte of them [the gentlemen within this realm] are good for nothing' (p. 12), Sir Humphrey's aim is to make them 'good for some what.' 'Whereas by wardeship the moste parte of noble men and gentlemen within this Realme haue bene brought vp ignorantly and voide of good educasions' (p. 10), they may now be brought up well, 'wherby the best sorte are most like to excell in vertue, which in times paste knew nothing but to hallow a hounde or lure a hawke' (p. 11) : the very words of Pace's earlier fool of a so-called English Gentleman—the race is not like the Dodo yet—"it becomes the sons of gentlemen to blow the horn nicely, to hunt skilfully, and elegantly carry and train a hawk. But the study of letters should be left to "the sons of rustics" (*Babees Book*, p. xiii) ; the words too of Skelton (*Colyn Clout*, Dyce's ed. i. 334),

¹ Also in Hakluyt's *Voyages*, iii. 11, ed. 1600.

² "Sir Humphrey was ready to try and make the passage himself ; he had, says Gascoigne, prepared his owne bodie to abide the malice of the windes and waues, and was euen ready to haue performed the voyage in proper person, if he had not beene by her Maiestie otherwise commanded and employed in martiall affaires, aswell in Ireland, as sitience in other places." *Ibid.*

But noble men borne, 621
 To lerne they haue scorne,
 But hunt and blowe an horne,
 Lepe ouer lakes and dykes,
 Set nothing by polytykes.

Again, the laziness and viciousness of those who did go to Universities, is complained of (p. 10), and the crying evil of the education of those only places of training pointed out,—an evil of which they are not yet free,—their narrowness: that ‘schol learninges’ only are taught at Oxford and Cambridge; no ‘matters of action meet for present practize, both of peace and warre.’ This narrowness made men then, as in later days, ‘vtterly lose their tymes yf they doe not follow learning onely.’ Other protests by Sir Humphrey against this narrowness are seen in other parts of his plan, of which the first will come especially home to the hearts of our own Members, the study and use of *English*¹ (as against Latin) on which he insists at p. 2, complaining of ‘the scholasticall rawnesse of some newly comen from the vniuersities.’ ‘Besides, in what language soeuer learninge is attained, the appliaunce to vse is principally in the vulgare speach, as in preaching, in parliament, in counsell, in comyssion, and other offices of Common Weale.’ Again, Sir Humphrey would have lectures on ‘Ciuill Pollicie.’ By which meanes Children shall learne more at home of the ciuill pollicies of all forraigne countries, and our owne, then most old men doe which haue trauailed farthest abroad.’ . . . and ‘men shalbe taught more witt and policy than schole-learninge can deliuer . . . ffor [as Chaucer says] the greatest Schole Clarks are not always the wisest men . . . ffor suche as govern Common Weales, ought rather to bend themselves to the practizes thereof, then to be tyed to the bookish circumstances of the same’ (p. 3, 4). Again, Sir Humphrey would have his boys ‘muscular Christians,’ would teach them riding (p. 4), shooting, and marching (p. 5), navigation and the parts of a ship (p. 5), simple doctoring (p. 5, 6), and Natural Philosophy—the teachers of the two latter practising together ‘to search and try owt the secreates of nature, as many waies as they possiblie may.’—‘The Plisition should also teach surgery. By reason

¹ See *Babees Book*, p. lix.

that Chirurgie is not now to be learned in any other place then in a Barbers Shoppe' (p. 6). Law is to be taught because 'It is necessary that noble men and gentlemen, should lerne to be able to put their owne case in law, and to haue some iudgment in the office of a Justice of Peace, and Sheriffe.' Of languages, besides Greek, Latin, and Hebrew (p. 2), French, Italian, and High Dutch or German (p. 7) are to be taught. 'Also there shalbe one Master of Defence, who shalbe principally expert in the Rapier and Dagger' &c., and who was to 'haue a dispensation against the Statute of Roages,' under which he would have been liable to branding and imprisonment, &c. (See Pref. to *Awdeley and Harman*, p. xiii.) So also the Phisician and Natural Philosopher were to be protected from the statute against Alchemists (p. 6). Music was also to be taught¹; and the mention of the *Bandora* here (p. 7) enables us to say that Sir Humphrey's scheme was not written before 1562, when the *Bandora* was first invented by John Rose, citizen of London (see Notes, p. 111). Heraldry was to be taught too (p. 8), but not, we may be sure, with the nonsense clinging round its origin, of which a sample is given in pages 93-102 of the present volume. For other particulars the reader is referred to the little tract itself; but let him notice that the 'screwging poor men's sons out of the endowments only for the poor' (*Babees Book*, p. xxxvi.) of which Harrison complained in 1577, and another writer before, was going on in Sir Humphrey's time :

And also the other vniuersities shall then better suffice to releive poore schollers, where now the youth of nobility and gentlemen, taking vp their schollarshippes and fellowshippes, do disapointe the poore of their livinges and avauncementes.

The plan of the Achademy is in fact one for the establishment of a great London University for the education of youths in the art of political, social, and practical life,—a kind of prototype of the London University so wisely pleaded for of late years by Professor Seeley, which should gather into itself the whole range of modern London teachers and studies. I venture to think that Sir Humphrey's scheme will not detract from his fame for nobleness of spirit, keenness of sight, and directness of aim. After the copy of the tract

¹ See Forewords to the *Babees Book*, p. xxiii.

in this volume had been printed, Mr Wheatley informed me that Sir Henry Ellis had printed it before in the *Archæologia*, vol. xxi. p. 506, &c. But this fact only rendered the presence of the *Achademy* here more appropriate, as our Extra Series is for reprints. I only wish Sir Henry had added some of the notes and illustrations to the tract, which he was so much more competent to give than I am, so that I might have reprinted those too.

The second tract, 'a Booke of Precedence' (p. 13), is printed, not mainly because 'John Bull loves a Lord'—although sensible outsiders proved to him last session that his dear Peers were politically hereditary nuisances, the obstructers of all liberal legislation,—but because the question of Precedence was so important a one in old social arrangements, and the feeling of caste still so strongly pervades all English society. Moreover, it is curious to know that a lady of title, in the presence of her higher in rank, might not have her train borne by a woman, though she might by a man (p. 15), as that marked her lowerness of station; while a poor baroness mightn't have her train borne by any one; but if she had a gown with a train, she was obliged to bear it herself (p. 25).

The third and fourth pieces in this volume describe, the third shortly (p. 29-31), and the fourth at greater length (p. 32-36), the manner of ordering the funerals of noble or knightly persons in late Popish times in England. One is bound to shew how people's corpses were dressed and dealt with, as well as their bodies; and to some churchy and upholstery people the details in these parts will no doubt have a more special interest. The 'Liveryes for Noblemen att Interyments,' at p. 36, represent, I suppose, the scarf, hatband, and gloves, given to commoners at funerals now.

The fifth piece is the 'Definition of the Esquier,' of which copies more or less different are found so often in MSS and books. Next, ought to have been added a short account of a curious, solemn procession of one of our Tudor queens, when she took to her chamber to lie in, and bear a child; but between Mr Childs and me the copy somehow disappeared. It shall, however, be printed in our third 'Babce,' if that ever sees the light.

The sixth piece is therefore a late and quite-changed version of

'How the Good Wife taught her Daughter,' *Babees Book*, p. 36, while the seventh piece is a less late and less changed version of the same poem, but still having enough differences, and noting enough fresh points of conduct, to render it worth printing.

As might have been expected concerning such teachings in early days, there is somewhat plainer speaking on the part of the mother, put down in the MS, than would appear in print now, as well as record of a ruder butcher-remark by the lookers-on, when a young woman happened to lift her petticoats rather high :

- ¶ Doȝttur, seyde þe good wyfe,
hyde thy legys whyte,
¶ And schew not forth thy stret hossyn
to make men have de-lytt ; 52
¶ Thow hit plese hem for a tym,
hit schaff be thy de-spytt,
¶ And men wyll sey
" of þi body þou carst but lytt." 56
¶ Witt an O and an I,
seyd Hit is full ryve,
¶ " The bocher schewyth feyre his flesche,
for he wold sell hit full blythe." 60

But that the thing was once done in Scotland, we have Sir David Lyndesay's testimony :

Bot I lauch oest to se ane Nwn,
Gar beir hir taill aboue hir bwn,
For no thing ellis, as I suppois,
Bot for to schaw hir lillie quhyte hois.
Sir D. Lyndesay's *Syde Tails*, l. 55-8.

Marketing was also one of the occasions of warning and danger to young women :

Go not as it wer A gase
Fro house to house, to seke þe mase ;
Ne go þou not to no merket
To sell thi thryft ; be wer of itte.

Later on, Stubs comments savagely on the purposes which merchants' wives made carrying their baskets serve ; another satirist has the following skit on the practice :

Item, I bequethe to euery yong woman maydenlyke, when she shall goe to the market, a poore woman to buye her meate, that she

in the mene time may go to a baudy house for her recreacion, or elles to a dauncyng scoole to learne facions, &c. (*The Wyll of the Deuyll, and last Testament*, ab. 1550, A.D., p. 10 of Collier's reprint.)

The poet who wrote the version at p. 46, l. 73-5, below, and exhorted young damsels not to go to a wrestling, or a cock-fighting, or 'shooting,' like a strumpet or a gyglote (light hussy), would, I suppose, have been scandalized if he could have heard of Victorian ladies attending a pigeon-match, to say nothing of wrestling-matches, and athletic sports. Manners change, and mutual charity is needed when one time sets itself to judge another. In one of Mr Lumby's forthcoming texts for the Society, there is an extremely interesting Scotch version of the Good Wife, called *The Thewis of Gudwomen*, in 320 lines, p. 103-112, *Ratis Raving*, Book III.

The eighth and ninth pieces (pp. 52, 56) are altered versions of 'How the Good Man taught his Son,' and 'Stans puer ad Mensam,' *Babees Book*, pp. 48, 26; though the latter poem is so enlarged, by the addition of an Introduction and many new maxims, that it has hardly a claim to the title of Lydgate's short poem. The present copy dates itself, more or less nearly, by its telling the servants not to wear laced sleeves; for those sleeves were fashionable in Edward IV.'s reign, and the lacing was put across a full-padded sleeve. The nobility and gentry of the day conceived that this wearing of 'bolsters or stuffing of wool, cotton, &c.,' was their special privilege; and accordingly, a statute of the 3rd year of Edward IV. A.D. 1463, forbids any yeoman or person under that degree to wear these bolsters, and therefore the laced sleeves; see p. 62, note. Of an earlier kind of sleeve, Oocleve complains below, p. 106, as we shall see. Who the Dr Palere is, who is introduced into our 9th piece so often (p. 63-4), as a great authority, I do not know.

For our 10th and 11th pieces (p. 65, 66), we have altered versions of 'The A B C of Aristotle,' of which two copies were printed in the *Babees Book*, p. 9-12. The 10th piece, p. 65-6, is so different from its originals as to almost claim the character of a new piece.

In the 12th piece, 'Proverbs of Good Counsel,' of which I don't remember any other copy, there is a nice line, 'of all treasure, Knowledge is the flower:'

Son, yf þou wyste whate thyngⁱ hyt were,
 Connyngⁱ to lerne, & with þ^e to bere,
 Thow wold not myspend on howre ;
 for of all Trespure Conny[n]gⁱ ys flowur. 50

Passing over the simple 13th piece, p. 71, we come to the 14th and 15th, 'Good Advice to a Gouvernour,' and 'Warnings and Counsels for Noblemen ;' and we are shown by the satire of the 16th piece, 'The Sage Fool's Testament' (p. 77),—though it is of an earlier date than the two bits that precede it—how much needed the Good Advice to the Governor and Nobleman really was ; how power and place, with money and little restraint, worked in early social England. There's a good slice of English History in that Fool's Testament ; and I commend it to the reader.

As an Appendix to it I have added our 17th piece, Lydgate's 'Order of Fools,' p. 79, a poor copy of a poor poem, but no doubt containing among its 63 caps, one that'll fit each of us.

In the 18th piece (p. 85), are three interesting little bits, 'When England shall come to Grief,' 'All is phantom that we deal with'—eternity alone, reality,—and 'Ills of our Time,' when a good sure friend is hard to find. Of this last, a fuller copy, with Latin originals, is given as our 20th piece at p. 88.

The intervening poem, No. 19, p. 86, is the only pathetic piece in the volume. In his Northern dialect the writer, deserted by unkind, false friends, asks 'Qwat sal I do ?' Loving and true himself, he cannot understand why the world is thus false to him. He complains to God, desiring to die, and prays Him to quite those who have made his life so hard to lead. May his sad burden be new to all of us :

that I most trayste,
 it is all waste !
 sor may me rew !

The 21st, 22nd, and 23rd pieces are a change : 'The Order of the Ladies at the Coronation of Queen Catherine, Queen of Henry VII.' (p. 89) ; 'Courses of a Dinner and Supper given by Sir John Cornwell to Henry V. ;' and 'Courses of a Meal or Banquet.' The latter were printed by Mr Edward Leaven of the British Museum, he sends me word, in a late number of the *Journal of the Archaeological*

Association, but as it is not on the shelf of the Museum Reading-room, where it ought to be, I cannot say what Mr Levien has made of these meals. For me, they are just continuations of Russell's in the *Babees Book*; and the cracking of one nut in them pleased me—*samaka*, p. 89.—What it could be I couldn't conceive; perhaps some preserve of salmon, if fish were potted in those days: but the *Forme of Cury's Sambocade*, p. 77, which the excellent Pegge never put in his unalphabetical Glossary that worries everybody who refers to it, proved the needful pair of crackers; it was—'Sambocade; as made of the *Sambucus* or Elder' (Pegge): curds, sugar, white of eggs, flavoured with elder-flowers, put in a crust, baked up with 'curose'—whatever that may be: 'curiously!' says Pegge,—and messed forth.

The reader has seen that our gallant Sir Humphrey Gilbert would have Heraldry taught in his *Achademy* (pp. xi, 8). It is beyond question that our ancestors attributed much importance to the study of the art that recorded their descent and alliances; and, no doubt, one's namesakes with the Conqueror and Cœur de Lion thought much of their arms, if they had any, as their Caerlaverock follower had.

This interest of our old men in the subject, is my only excuse for printing the 24th piece in this volume, a Poem on Heraldry (p. 93-102), about gules, and pales, and tortells, and masklewis, &c. &c., which are all Hebrew to me. A wonderful and fearful language it is that Herald's talk; but I've bought a little *Grammar of Heraldry* by Mr Cussans (Longmans, 1866), and hope, by the help of the woodcuts, to understand it some day. Well, in turning over the Harleian Catalogue, I came on the title of this Poem (vol. iii. 332, col. 1), and Mr Bond, the Keeper of the MSS, decided that it was in the same hand as the second treatise in its volume, Harl. 6149, which is described in the Catalogue as "A treatise of the Signification of Armory, . . . and at the end is 'Explicit iste liber honorabil. armig. Wilelm. civit. de Jordelleth als. marchemond herald,' or something near it, with the date 1494."

Not much sense was to be made out of this; but a reference to the MS showed that the rubric printed in the Catalogue, though defaced in parts by dashes of black ink, was yet quite readable with

a little trouble ; and the ‘something near it’ of the Catalogue, proved to be :

Explicit iste liber honorabili armigero Wilelmo cummyn de Inuerellochy¹ alias Marchemond heraldo per ☞ [=manum] Ade loutfut² Anno Domini M^o CCCC^o nonagesimo quarto mensis uero Septembris. [Harleian MS 6149, leaf 44.]

Thus one of the many skews in the Harleian Catalogue was set straight. (Don’t let any one abuse the first Cataloguer of a Collection for skews. For all Catalogues (as for all Indexes) one ought to be grateful : for those without mistakes, most grateful.)

The questions then were, 1. Who was Sir William Cummyne? and, 2. was the Poem by him, or at least by a Scotchman, as from its language it seemed to be? The 2nd question was most kindly answered in the negative by a learned authority on Scotch Heraldry, whose name Mr David Laing mentioned to me, and who responded to the application of me, a stranger, by sending me the valuable notes printed on pages 102—104 below, and in them pointing out that certain marks of cadency mentioned in the poem were never used in Scotch Heraldry, though they were in English. The conclusion then forced on me was, that Adam Loutfut, Sir Wm. Cummyne’s scribe, had copied the poem from an English original, and scottified it as he copied, in the same way as he has scottified in leaves 83—108 of his MS, A “Buk of thordre of Cheualry translatid out of Franche in to Ynglis by me Willzham Caxtonne duelling in Westmynstre ;” which scottification I hope some day to print opposite Caxton’s own text, to see what the worthy Adam—who sometimes copied *f* for *s*, *e* for *t*, and vice versâ, &c. &c.—has made of our rare old printer’s southern speech.

What made the question of the authorship more important was, that the writer of the poem tells us he has written a Siege of Thebes (l. 30), A Troy-Book (l. 36-9), and a Brut (l. 52); perhaps three books : perhaps only one, taking in the three stories generally told separately. Here are the lines ; the reader can judge for himself :

¹ ‘Inuerellochy,’ say the Charters, p. xxii below.

² or loutfut.

The eldest, gret, most populus, mortal were,
 wes at thebes, quhiche at linc I did write,
 Quhare palamonne and arsite, woundit there,
 Be *ther* cotis of armes knawin parfite, 32
 Be heraldis war, sum sais, bot *that* I nyte,
 fior in *thai* dais heraldis war not create,
 Nor *that* armes set in propir estate.

Bot eftir *that* troy, quhar so mony kingis war 36
 Seging without, *and other* within the tounne,
 So mony princis, knychtis, *and* peple there,
 as this my buk *the* most sentence did soune,
 all *thocht* spedful in o conclusiounne, 40
 That nobillis bere merkis, to mak be knawin,
ther douchtynes in dedis of armes schawin: . . .

Than troy distroyit, *the* werriis endit, *the* lordis
 I seir landis removit; *and* so brutus,
 (his lif *and* dait my buk efter recordis,) 52
 Come in brutane with folkis populus,
 And brocht with him *this* werly merkis thus,
 quhiche succedis in armes to *this* date;
 Bot lang efter troy, heraldis war noch creat. 56

Now Lydgate wrote a Troy-Book and a Siege of Thebes. He may also have written a Brut of some kind; but I do not believe that he was the English author whom Loutfut scottified. The writer of the poem must surely have been a Herald's clerk, or a Herald of an inferior degree,—though as proud as a peacock of his order and his art, and his fellows, the salt of the earth,—for he thus speaks of the Heralds above him:

How *thai* ¹ be born, in quhat kindis, *and* quhare, 196
 also be quhom, *and* eftir in excellence,
 That I refer to my lordis to declair,
 kingis of armes, *and* heraldis of prudens,
 and persewantis,² *and* grant my negligens 200
 that I suld not attempe *thus* to commounne,
 Bot of *ther* grace, correctiounne, *and* pardounne, . . . 202

And I confess my simple insufficiens:
 Iltil haf I sene, *and* reportit weil less,
 of *this* materis to haf experience.
 Tharfor, quhar I al neidful not express, 248

¹ That is, planets, signs of the air, herbs, birds, fishes, borne as arms.

² They, the 3rd and lowest order of Heralds, are yet above the writer.

In my waiknes, *and* not of wilfulnes,
 my seid lordis correk me diligent,
 To maid menis, or sey *the* remanent !

Wanted, then, the author of the present poem and the Siege of Thebes, the Troy Book, and Brut, above named.

It is possible that he may have been a Frenchman, *if* the heraldry suits the French rules—as my Scotch authority tells me it does not, for many reasons, and especially that the classification of *roundles* was quite unknown in France,—for another treatise once in this collection of Sir Wm. Cummy'n's, but now cut out, was translated for him from the French, by his obedient son in the office of Arms, Kintyre, Pursevant :

[*Harleian MS 6149, leaf 78.*]

[H]eir eftyr folouis ane lytil treety of the Instruccioun of the figuris of armes and of the blasoning of the samyn, eftir the fraynche oppinyon,¹ translatit owt of fraynche in Scottis at the command of ane wirschepfull man, Wilzenn Cumyn of Innerellochquy, alias Marchemond herald, be his obedient sone in the office of armes, kintyre, purseuant, and vndir his correccioun, as efter folowis be cheptours

(The treatise itself is cut out from the MS.)

Having looked through the MS and dipped into likely-seeming parts, I think it quite certain that the writer of the poem does not refer to any of the short tracts in this MS volume of Sir Wm. Cummy'n's, in none of which tracts could he have written “at linc,” as he says, of the Theban War. Mr E. Brock, who has gone in like manner over the volume, is of the same opinion. In the 2nd tract in the volume, “the Signification of Armoury,”—the 1st is the frequent “Gage of Battail”—Julius Cæsar is spoken of, as in the poem (lines 57, 204), as the originator of Arms.

[*Harl. MS 6149, leaf 5.*]

In the tyme that Iulius Cesar, emperour of romme, conquest Afferik, Sumtyme namyt the land lueyant in the partis of Orient, Rychtsua quhen pompe of romme conquest Ewrop, other wais callit the land of Ionnet, in the occident, than war maid the rial officis til

¹ MS oppimyon.

wnderstand *and* govern al thingis pertenyng to the craft of armes, *and* for to discut *and* jüge the richtis that followis ther-appon. In the first wes constitut *and* ordanit be the said princis the office of counstable; Secoundly, the office of ammerall; The third, the office of marschall; The ferd war maid the capitany the fift, to be at jügement of armes the heraldis, *and* ilkane of thaim seruand in his degre.

Passing over the 3rd tract in the volume, on the Habilliments of Knights, (leaf 44), and the 4th, on Funerals (leaf 48), we come to the 5th, *Liber Armorum*, of which Mr Brock says,

'There is no account of any wars in the *Liber Armorum*,¹ so far as I can see; but there is a fabulous story which traces the gradual rise of *Arms*, &c.² A similar story is given in 'The First Fynding of Armes' at leaf 140.³ It makes mention of Troy and certain Trojans.

Here is an extract:—

[*Harleian MS 6149, leaf 141, back.*]

And for to proced forther in our materis, the quhilk kind of peple of the forsad lemares; within certane process of 3eris come our lady that I spak of before, the quhilk lemares wes trogelius dochter, that maid troye befor said quether for the britons cornyffe (?), and wald be lawe of petigre chalain kinrend of the vergin our lady, of the fader joachim, because thaj war troians, and come of troye be lynage of trogelius. To pas in our materis; Trogelius had thre sonnys in troy, The eldast wes callit arbaldus, The secound is callit Erewfilix, The third arbegraganus. [of whom] within v^c 3ere, be rycht lynne come Ectour of troye, throuch al the world anne of the ix worthiest. of the eldast sone arbaldus, efter the distructione of troye xij 3eris, be rycht lynne come brutus, of the quhilk rycht lyne of brutus within certane process of 3eris come arthour, anne of the ix worthi, throuch al the world be law of armes callit. Of the second sone, Erewfilix saragein in sertagia, efter the distructione of troe vj^c 3ere xlvij; come Iulius Cesar, *and* enterit in brettane that tyme apone eace, mony wynter befor king arthour.

¹ A book of heraldry, superscribed 'Incipit liber Armorum,' the first chapter of which is, 'How gentilmen shal be knowene from ehurles, and how thai fyrst began, and how Noye dyvyded the world in thre parts to his thre sonnes.' *Harl. Catal.*

² The whole MS seems to be written by the same hand, except perhaps these two tracts: Art. 6, ff. 62, *De coloribus in armis depictis et eorum nobilitate ac differencia.* Art. 7, ff. 79, *Heraldorum nomen et officium unde extorsum sit Epistola, &c.*

³ "Here begynnys the first fynding of armes callit the origynall. . . ."

I repeat again, then, ‘Wanted, the author of our Peem and his three other Books!’

To hark back to our 2nd question, p. xvii above, ‘Who was Sir William Cummy of Inverellochy?’ The answer is given in the following extract from the Appendix to Mr George Seton’s *Law and Practice of Heraldry in Scotland*, 1863, to which Mr David Laing was good enough to refer me, and which Appendix Mr Seton states to be greatly indebted to Mr Laing’s researches¹:

‘Sir William Cumyng of Inverallochy, Co. Aberdeen—c. 1512. Second son of William Cumyng of Culter and Inverallochy (?), by Elizabeth, daughter of Sir William Meldrum of Fyvie, and fourth in descent from Jardine, second son of William Cumyng, Earl of Buchan, who got the lands of Inverallochy from his father in the year 1270. (Nisbet’s Heraldry, ii. Appendix, p. 57.) Sir William appears to have held the office of Marchmont Herald in the year 1499 (Reg. Secreti Sigilli); and the lands of Innerlochy were granted to him and Margaret Hay, his spouse, by a charter under the Great Seal, dated 18th January, 1503-4. He was knighted in 1507, and in a charter of glebe lands in favour of John Quhyte (31st January, 1513), he is described as “circumspectus vir Will^{ms} Cumyn de Innerlochy, Rex Armorum supremi domini nostri Regis.” (General Hutton’s Transcripts, Adv. Lib.) His character of “circumspectus” (canny) is thus referred to by Bishop Leslie, in connection with the year 1513:—“Leo facialis Angli Regis responsum sapienter eludit.” (History of Scotland, 1578, p. 361.) In a deed dated 17th July, 1514, he is styled, “Willelmus Cumyng de Innerallochy miles, alias Leo Rex Armorum;” and again, in 1518, he is designed “Lioun King-of-Armes.” The following curious account of Cumyng’s insult by Lord Drummond, in the year 1515, is from the Genealogie of the House of Drummond, compiled by the first Viscount Strathallan in 1681, and printed about thirty years ago:—“John Lord Drummond was a great promoter of the match betwixt his own grandchild, Archibald Earle of Angus, and the widdow Queen of King James the Fourth, Margaret Teudores; for he caused his own brother, Master Walter Drummond’s sone, Mr John Drummond, dean of Dumblane and person of Kinnowl, solemnize the matrimonial bond in the Kirk of Kinnowl, in the year 1514. Bot this marriage begot such jealousy in the rulers of the State, that the Earle of Angus was cited to appear before the Council, and Sir William Cummin of Innerallochy, Knight, Lyon King-at-Armes, appointed to deliver the charge: in doing whereof, he seemed to the Lord Drummond to have approached the Earle with more boldness than discretion, for which he (Lord D.) gave the Lyon a box on the ear; whereof he complained to John Duke of Albany,

¹ See also the note, p. 102 below.

then newly made Governor to King James the Fifth, and the Governor, to give an example of his justice at his first entry to his new office, caused imprison the Lord Drummond's person in the Castle of Blackness, and forfeit his estate to the Crown for his rashness. Bot the Duke considering, after information, what a fyne man the Lord was, and how strongly allyed with most of the great families in the nation, wes well pleased that the Queen-mother and three Estates of Parliament, should interceed for him ; so he was soone restored to his libbertie and fortune."—Page 478 (Appendix, Notices of the Lyon Kings-of-Arms), Seton's *Law and Practice of Heraldry in Scotland*, 1863.

Mr David Laing writes :—

“ ‘*Cumming*’ is the modern mode of spelling the name. In earlier times there are a great variety, such as Cumin, Cumine, Cuning, Cumyng, etc. The form in the Museum MS should be preferred.

The following is copied from the List of Charters under the Great Seal.

Cumming alias Merch-	{	Carta Willielmo, et Margaretæ Hay ejus
mond Herauld		Sponsæ, Terrarum de Innerlochy, 18 Janrij 1503
Cumyn alias Merch-	{	Carta Willielmo, super Maritagijs Suorum
mond Herauld		hæredum 4 Ap ^{rs} 1507
Cumyng filio	{	Carta Willielmo, filio et hæredi Willielmi
		Cumyng de Innerellochy, Militis, Terrarum de Innerellochy &c.” 14 Julij 1513

The 25th piece in our volume was brought under my notice by the note ^k in Warton, ii. 480, on Lyndesay's *Syde Taiillis* already quoted in these Forewords at p. xiii, and which the reader will perhaps have characterized, with Warton, as a poem having ‘more humour than decency.’ It is a censure on the affectation of long trains worn by the ladies, and now in type for the Society's Part V. of Lyndesay's Works, under Mr J. A. H. Murray's editorship. The note in Warton says, ‘Compare a manuscript poem of Oceleve: *Of Pride and wast clothing of Lordis men, which is azens her astate*. MSS Laud K. 78, f. 67 b. Bibl. Bodl. His chief complaint is against pendent sleeves, sweeping the ground, which, with their fur, amount to more than twenty pounds.’ There are no doubt better MS copies of the poem than that printed here ; but I had not time to hunt for them, and Mr George Parker copied this Laud one, and read it with

the MS, as he did the other pieces from the Bodleian in this volume. It may have been printed before, but is not in the Percy Society's Poems and Songs on Costume, or any other volume that I remember.

The 26th and last piece in Part I. is a short extract from the least uninteresting part of Sir Peter Idle's 'Instructions to his Son' in the Cambridge University Library MS Ee. 4, 37, for which I am indebted to a young friend of Mr H. Bradshaw's, who wisely learns MSS as well as Mathematics, at college. The treatise has been long on our list for printing, Ritson's *Bibliographia Poetica* having tempted me, with this description, p. 64, to put it there :

IDLE PETER, of Kent, esquire, wrote '*Liber consolacionis et consilii*,' or Instructions to his son, extant in the Bodleian Library (Digby, 181), where his name is 'Peter Idywerte;' in the publick library, Cambridge (MSS More 124, [now Ee. 4, 37]); in the British Museum (MSS Har. 172, leaf 21), and in Trinity College, Dublin, D. 2. 7: 'In the begynnyng of thys lytill werke.'

But on looking through the MS, I found it at first little more than an expansion of *Stans Puer ad Mensam* and like poems,¹ while in the latter part it went off into biblical and saints'-lives stories, of little interest to modern ears. So, though we must print the poem some day, it may stand over for a time. Print it, I say, because, if our old people were dull, foolish, and dirty, as well as interesting, wise, noble, and pure, we want the dulness, folly, and dirt, as well as their interestingness, wisdom, nobleness, and purity. We don't want to deceive ourselves about them, or fancy them cherubs without sterns. Let's know their weakness as well as their strength, and not talk gammon about 'the good old times' without looking fairly into them; though, when we have done this, we may still be able to say to the rest of the world, 'Match our old men if you can!'

This volume, then, the reader will see, may be looked on, from one point of view, as a kind of Resurrection Pie like we used to have once a week at school, in which we declared old left bits reappeared. But I prefer another metaphor, and hold, that through all the book's

¹ Our extract should be compared with the *Babees Book* piece, pp. 34 5, 'Of the Manners to bring one to Honour and Welfare.'

different-looking limbs, one life of old England runs ; and as irreverent friends in the Society have christened the first *Babees Book* my babee, I prefer to look on this present volume as my 2nd babee. Some may care to look at its eyes, some at its toes ; some may perhaps penetrate to its navel, that continual marvel to the infantile mind ¹ ; prigs, no doubt, will scorn it all as trash ; but it may lead some back to knowledge of days nearer England's childhood than our time is ; and if it does, I shall be content.

To Mr J. M. Cowper of Faversham, who has kindly made the Indexes to Part I. ; to Mr G. E. Adams, Rouge Dragon, and the learned authority on Scotch Heraldry, who have helped in the very difficult Heraldry Poem ; to our copiers and readers, Messrs E. Brock, G. Parker (of Oxford), and W. M. Wood ; and lastly to Mr W. M. Rossetti and Mr Oswald for their valuable and interesting Essays in Part II., I tender hearty thanks.

Nov. 14, 1869.

¹ I wonder whether Chaucerian and Tudor babies kept on asking their daddies 'What's this for?' as they put their little fingers in the hole, and when scolded as naughty boys, answered with 'Gog, gog!' and a grin.

PART I.

Early English Treatises and Poems

on

Education, Precedence, and Manners

in

Olden Time.

FROM MSS IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM AND BODLEIAN
LIBRARIES, ETC.

Queene Elizabethes Achademy,

(BY SIR HUMPHREY GILBERT).

Lansdowne MS. 98, art 1, leaf 2.

The erection of an ¹**Achademy in London** for educacion of her
Maiestes Wardes, and others the youth of nobility and gentle-
 men.

fforasmuch as (moste excellent soveraigne) the moste parte of
 noble men and gentlemen that happen to be *your Maiestes Wardes*,
 the Custody of their bodies beinge of bownty grawnted to some, in
 rewarde of service or otherwise, not without your honorable Confi-
 dence of their good educacion, yet, neverthelesse, most commonly by
 such to whom they are committed, or by those to whom such Com-
 mittees have sould them, being eyther of will, religion, or insufficient
 qualities, are, thorough the defaltes of their guardens, for the moste
 parte brought vp, to no small grief of their frendes, in Idlenes *and* las-
 civious pastimes, estranged from all serviceable vertues to their prince
 and Cowntrey, obscurely drowned in educac[i]on for sparing Charges,
 of purpose to abase their mindes, leaste, being better qualified, they
 should disdaine to stowpe to the mariage of such purchasers daugh-
 ters; As, also, for that the greatest number of younge gentlemen
 within this Realme are most Conversant abowte **London**, where *your*
Maiestes Cowrte hath most ordinarie residence; Yt were good (as I
 thincke, vnder Your Highnes most gracious Correction,) that, for

¹ This Clarendon type is used for the words in larger letters in the MS.

their better educaciōns, there should be an **Achademy** erected in sorte as followeth :—

first, there shalbe one Scholemaister, who shall teache **Grammar**, both greke and latine, *and* shalbe yearely allowed for the same, 40^{li.}¹

Also there shalbe allowed to him fower **Vshers**, every of them being yerely allowed for the same, 20^{li.}, which maketh in the whole by the yeare, 80^{li.}

Also there shalbe one who shall reade and teache the **Hebrue tounge**, and shalbe yearely allowed for the same, ... 50^{li.}¹

Also there shalbe one who shall reade and teache bothe **Logick and Rethorick**, *and* shall weekly, on certen dayes therefore apointed, see his schollers dispute and exercize the same, *and* shalbe yearely allowed therefore, 40^{li.}¹

[leaf 2, back]

Note.

When the Orator shall practize his schollers in the exercize thereof, he shall chiefly do yt in **Orations** made in English, both politique and militare, taking occasions owt of Discowrses of histories, approving or reproving the matter, not onely by reason, but also with the examples and stratagemmes both antick and moderne. ffor of what Comodity such vse of arte wilbe in our tounge may partely be seene by the scholasticall rawnesse of some newly Commen from the vniuersities : besides, in what language soeuer learninge is attayned, the apliaunce to vse is principally in the vulgare speach, as in preaching, in parliament, in Cownsell, in Commyssion, and other offices of Common Weale. I omitt to shew what ornament will therby growe to our tounge, and how able yt will appeare for strengthe and plenty when, by such exercizes, learning shall haue brought vnto yt the Choyse of wordes, the building of sentences, the garnishmente of figures, and other beautyes of **Oratorie**,—Wherevpon I haue heard that the famous knight **Sir Iohn Cheeke** devised to haue declamaciōns, and other such exercizes, sometimes in the vniuersities performed in **English**.

My Reason.

This kinde of educaciōn is fittest for them, because they are wardes to the prince, by reason of knights service. And also, by this exercize, art shalbe practized, reason sharpened, and all the noble exploytes that ever were or are to be done, togeather with the occasions of their victories or overthrowes, shall continually be kepte in

¹ over 66^{li.} 13^{s.} 4^{d.} struck out.

fresh memory ; Wherby wise counsell in dowbtfull matters of warre and state shall not be to seeke among this trained Company when need shall require. ffor not without Cawse is **Epaminondas** commended, who, riding or Iourneying in time of peace, vsed oftentymes sodenly to appose his Company vpon the oportunity of any place, saying, “What yf *our* enemies were here or there, what were best to doe?”

Also there shalbe one **Reader of morall philosophie**, who shall onely reade the **politique parte** thereof, and shalbe yearely allowed for the same, 100^{li}

Note.

This **philosophor** shall distinctly deuide his **Readinges** by the day into two sortes,—The one concerning **Ciuill pollicie**, The other concerning **Martiall pollicy**.

Of Peace.

[leaf 3]

In the discowrses towchyng **Peace**, he shall alleage particulerly the estates of all **monarchies** and best knowen **Common weales or principates** that both haue bene and are, Togeather with the distinct manner of their gouernementes towching **Ciuill pollicie**, And the principall Cawse concerning **Iustice, or their Revenues**, wherby they [be] any way encreased or diminished. And the same to be done, as neare as Conveniently may be, with speciall apliance of our owne histories, to the present estate and gouernement of this **Realme**. By which meanes Childeren shall learne more at home of the **ciuill pollicies** of all forraine Cowntries, and our owne, then most old men doe which haue trauailed farthest abroad.

Of Warres.

And towching **warres**, he shall also particulerly declare what manner of forces they had and haue, and what were and are the distinct disciplines and kindes of arminge, training and maintaining, of their soldiars in every particuler kind of service.

My Reason.

By directing the **Lectures** to thendes afforesaid, men shalbe taught more witt and pollicy then **Schole learninges** can deliuer. And therefore meetest for the best sorte, to whom yt chiefly apertaineth to haue the managing of matters of estate and pollicy. ffor the greatest **Schole clarkes** are not alwayes the wisest men.¹ Where-

¹ The grettest clerks beth not the wisest men,
As whilom to the wolf thus spak the mare.

CHAU CER. *Cunt. Tales*, l. 4051-2.

vpon **Licurgus**, among other lawes, ordained that **Scholes** should be for childeren, and not for **philosophie**. ffor suche as governe **Common weales**, ought rather to bend themselves to the practizes thereof, then to be tyed to the bookish *Circumstances* of the same.

Also there shalbe one **Reader of naturall philosophie**, who shalbe yearely allowed for the same, ... 40^{li}.

Also there shalbe placed two **Mathematicians**, And the one of them shall one day reade **Arithmetick**, and the other day **Geometry**, which shalbe onely employed to **Imbattelinges, fortificacions, and matters of warre, with the practiz of Artillery**, and vse of all manner of *Instrumentes* belonging to the same. And shall once every moneth practize **Canonrie** (shewing the manner of **vndermininges**), and trayne his **Awditorie** to draw in paper, make in modell, and stake owt all kindes of **fortificac[i]ons**, as well to prevent the mine and sappe, as the **Canon**, with all sortes of **encampinges and Imbattelinges**, and shalbe yearely allowed for the same, ... 100^{li}.

[leaf 3, back] Also this Inginer shalbe yearely allowed for the **powder and shotte** which shalbe employed for the practize of **Canonry** and the vse of **mines**, ... 100^{li}.

Also there shalbe vnder him one **Vsher**, who shall teach his schollers the principles of **Arithmetick**, and shalbe yearely allowed for the same, ... 40^{li}.

Also there shalbe one other **Vsher**, who shall teach his **Schollers** the principles of **Geometrie**, and shalbe yearely allowed for the same, ... 40^{li}.

Also there shalbe entertained into the said **Achademy** one good horsman, to teache noble men and gentlemen to ride, make, and handle, a ready horse, exercizing them to runne at **Ringe, Tilte, Townrey, and cowrse of the fielde**, yf they shalbe armed. And also to skirmish on horsbacke with **pistolles**, not taking for the learning of any one of them above 10^s. by the moneth, he finding them horses for that purpose, and shalbe bownd to keepe theare 10 greate ready horses for the said exercise, beinge yearely allowed therefore, ... 333^{li}. 6^s. 8^d.

This **Rider** shall haue allowed vnto him at the first erecting of the Stable, to buy his horses, ... 266^{li}. 13^s. 4^d.

This **Rider**, at his first Coming vnto the office, shall enter into bondes with sufficient sureties to leave vnto the **Achademie**, at his death or departure, the said horses, in as good estate as he receaved them, or others as good, or the full summe which he was allowed for the buying of them.

Also there shalbe entertained one perfect trained **Sowldiour**, who shall teach them to handle the **Harquebuz**, and to practize in the said **Achademie** all kindes of **Skirmishinges**, **Imbattelinges**, and sondery kindes of **marchinges**, apointinge amonge them, some one tyme, and some another, to suply the roames of **Capitaines** and other officers, Which they may very well exerceize without **armes**, and with light staves, in steade of **Pikes** and **Holbeardes**, beinge yearly allowed for the same, 66^{li.} 13^{s.} 4^{d.}

[leaf 4] The other **Mathematician** shall reade one day **Cosmographie** and **Astronomy**, and the other day tend the practizes thereof, onely to the arte of **Nauigac'on**, with the knowledge of necessary **starres**, making vse of **Instrumentes** apertaining to the same; and also shall haue in his **Schole** a shippe *and* gallye, made in modell, thoroughly rigged and furnished, to teache vnto his Awditory as well the knowledge and vse by name of euery parte thereof, as also the perfect arte of a **Shipwright**, and diversity of all sortes of moldes apertaining to the same, *and* shalbe yearly allowed, 66^{li.} 13^{s.} 4^{d.}

Also there shalbe one who shall teache to draw **mappes**, **Sea chartes**, &c., and to take by view of eye the platte of any thinge, and shall reade the growndes *and* rules of **proportion** and **necessarie perspectiue** and **mensuration** belonging to the same, and shalbe yearly allowed, 40^{li.}

Also there shalbe entertained one **Doctor of phisick**, who shall one day reade **phisick**, and another daie **Chirurgerie**, in the **Englishe tounge**, towching all kindes of **Vlcers**, **Sores**, **Phistiloes**, **wowndes**, &c. Togeather with all kindes of **medicines** for the same, as well **Chimice** as otherwise, and shalbe yearly allowed, 100^{li.}

Note.

This **Reader** shall never alleage any medicine, be yt of **simples**, **salues**, **saltes**, **balmes**, **oyles**, **spirites**, **tinctures**, or otherwise, But that he shall declare the **reazor.** **philosophicall** of euery particuler

ingredience for such operacion, And shew his hearers the **mechanicall** making and working thereof, with all manner of **vesselles, furnishes, and other Instrumentes and vtensiles apertaining** to the same.

Note.

This **phisition** shall continually practize together with the **naturall philosophor**, by the fire and otherwise, to search and try out the secretes of nature, as many waies as they possiblie may. And shalbe sworne once euery yeare to deliuer into the **Treasorer** his office, faire and plaine written in Parchment, without **Equiuocac[i]ons** or **Enigmaticall phrases**, vnder their handes, all those their proofes and trialles made within the forepassed yeare, Togeather with the true evente of thinges, and all other necessary accidentes growing therby, To thend that their **Successors** may knowe both the way of their working, and the event thereof, the better to follow the good, and avoyd the evill, which in time must of force bring great thinges to light, yf in **Awcomistrie** there be any such thinges hidden. ffor whose saffetyes I would wish the Statute of the 5th of **Henry the 4th** towching **multiplicacion** to be dispensed at large.

[leaf 4, back]

My Reason.

The **Phisition** shall practize to reade **Chirurgerie**, becawse, thorough wante of learning therein, we haue verie few good **Chirur-gions**, yf any at all, By reason that **Chirurgerie** is not now to be learned in any other place then in a **Barbors shoppe**, And in that shoppe, most dawngerous, especially in tyme of plague, when the ordinarie trimming of men for **Clenlynes** must be done by those which haue to do with infected personnes.

Note.

This **Philosophor and phisition** shall haue a garden apointed them which they shall furnish and maintaine with all kindes of simples; and shalbe yearely allowed, besides their **Lectures**, for their afforesaid extra ordinarie Charge and practizes, 100^{li}.

Also there shalbe one **Reader of the ciuill law**, who shalbe yerely allowed for the same, 100^{li}.

Also there shalbe one **Reader of diuinitie**, who shalbe yerely allowed for the same, 100^{li}.

Also there shalbe one **Lawier**, who shall reade the growndes of the **common lawes**, and shall draw the same, as neare as may be, into **Maximes**, as is done in the booke of the **ciuill lawes** entituled **de Regulis Iuris**, for the more facile teachinge of his **Awditorie**.

And also shall sett downe and teache exquisitely the office of a **Iustice of peace and Sheriffe**, not meddling with ples or cunning pointes of the law; and shalbe yearely allowed for the same, 100^{li}. [over 66^{li}. 13^s. 4^d. struck out.]

My Reason.

It is necessary that noble men and gentlemen should learne to be able to put their owne Case in law, and to haue some Iudgment in the office of a **Iustice of peace and Sheriffe**; for thorough the want thereof the beste are oftentimes subiecte to the direction of farre their **Inferiors**.

Note.

I would haue this **Lawier** to traine the younger sorte of his hearers to some exercise therein, wherby they may the better grow to be able to put their owne Cases, and to vnderstand perfectly the offices afforesaid, which is as much as I would wish them to learne of the law theare. ffor yf they desire more knowledg, the **Innes of cowrte** may suffice them.

[leaf 5] Also there shalbe one **Teacher of the french tounge**, who shalbe yearely allowed for the same, 26^{li}.

Also he shalbe allowed one **Vsher**, at the yearely wage of 10^{li}.

Also there shalbe one **Teacher of the Italian tounge**, who shalbe yearely allowed for the same, 26^{li}.

Also he shalbe allowed one **Vsher**, at the yearely wages of 10^{li}.

Also there shalbe one **Teacher of the Spanish tounge**, who shalbe yearely allowed for the same, 26^{li}.

Also there shalbe one **Teacher of the highe duche tounge**, who shalbe yerely allowed for the same, 26^{li}.

Also there shalbe one **Master of defence**, who shalbe principally expert in the **Rapier and dagger**, the **Sworde and tergat**, the **gripe of the dagger**, the **battaile axe** and the **pike**, and shall theare publicly teach, who shall also haue a dispensation against the Statute of **Roages**; and shalbe yearely allowed for the same, ... 26^{li}.

Also there shalbe one who shall keepe a **dawncing and vawting schole**; and shalbe yearely allowed for the same, ... 26^{li}.

Also there shalbe one **Teacher of Musick**, and to play one the **Lute**, the **Bandora**, and **Cytterne**, &c.; who shalbe yearely allowed for the same, 26^{li}.

Also he shalbe allowed one **Vsher**, at the yearely wages of 10^{li}.

Also there shalbe yearely allowed for a Steward, **cookes**, **Butlers**,
and other necessary officers, 100^{li}.

Also there shalbe yearely allowed for a **minister and clark**,
66^{li}. 13^s. 4^d.

Also there shalbe one perfect **Harowlde of armes**, who shall teach
noble men *and* gentlemen to blaze armes, and also the arte of
Harrowldrie; togeather with the keeping of a **Register** in the said
Achademy of their discentes *and* **pedigrues**; and shalbe yearely
allowed for the same, 26^{li}.

Also there shalbe one keeper of the **Liberarie** of the **Achademy**,
whose Charge shalbe to see the bookes there saffely kepte, to Cawse
them to be bownd in good sorte, made fast, and orderly set, And
shall keepe a **Register** of all the bookes in the said **Liberarie**, that
he may geve accompte of them when the **Master** of the **Wardes**, or
the **Rector of the Achademy** shall apoinete; and shalbe yearely
allowed, 26^{li}.

[leaf 5, back]

Note.

This **Keeper**, after every marte, shall Cawse the bringers of
bookes into England to exhibit to him their **Registers**, before they
vtter any to any other person, that he may peruse the same, and take
Choyse of such as the **Achademie** shall wante, and shall make the
Master of the **Wardes**, or the **Rector of the Achademy**, privy to his
Choyse, vpon whose warrante the bookes so provided shalbe payed
for. And there shalbe yearely allowed for the buying of bookes for
the said **Library**, and other necessary instrumentes, ... 40^{li}.

Note.

All **Printers in England** shall for ever be Charged to deliuer into
the **Library of the Achademy**, at their owne Charges, one Copy,
well bownde, of euery booke, proclamacion, or pamflette, that they
shall printe.

Also there shalbe one **Treasurer of the Achademy**, who shalbe
yearely allowed for the same, 100^{li}.

Also there shalbe one **Rector of the said Achademy**, who shall
make tryall of the nature and Inclination of the **wardes**, to thend
that they may, by his direction, be employed principally in suche
profession whereto their nature doth, most conforme, the **Master** of
the **wardes** being made privy therevnto; *and* shalbe yearely allowed
100^{li}.

Also the *Master* of the **cowrte of wardes**, from tyme to tyme, shalbe the chiefest **gouernor** of this **Achademy**, becawse the oversight of wardes doth Chiefly belonge vnto him; *and* shalbe yearly allowed for the same 200^{li.}

Also there shalbe geuen in stocke for the furnishing of a **Liberarie** and *Instrumentes* apertaining to the same, Togeather with the buying of horses, as afforesaid, and all other necessary thinges for the first furnishing of this **Achademy**, 2000^{li.}

The afforesaid whole yearly wages and Charges } 2507^{li.} 6^{s.} 8^{d.}
of this **Achademy** amownteth vnto }

The whole yearly Charges for the Commons of }
the said **Readers, officers, and seruantes** in this } 459^{li.} 6^{s.} 8^{d.}
Achademy amownteth vnto }

which maketh yearly in all 2966^{li.} 13^{s.} 4^{d.}

Here wanteth leuyes for the building or buying of howses for this **Achademy**.

Certaine orders to be obserued.

[leaf 6]

All the fforesaid **publique Readers of arte and the common lawes** shall once within every six yeares set forth some new bookes in printe, according to their severall professions.

Also every one of those which shall publicly teache any of the languages as afforesaid, shall once every 3 yeares publish in printe some **Translation** into the **English tounge** of some good worke, as neare as may be for the advawncing of those thinges which shalbe practiced in the said **Achademy**.

All which bookes shall for ever be entituled as set forth by the gentlemen of **Queene Elizabethes Achademy**, wherby all the nations of the worlde shall, once every 6 yeares at the furthest, receaue greate benefitt, to *your* hignes immortall fame.

Also for ever, the 7th day of **September** and the 17th day of **Nouember**, there shalbe a **Sermon in the Achademy**, wherby the **Awditory** shalbe put in minde who was the fownder thereof. By which meanes the tounge of man shall write for ever in the eares of the living, to the honour of the deade.

There are divers necessary thinges to be funder Considered of, all which I omitte vntill your *Maiesty* be resolved what to do herein.

The Comodities which will ensue by erecting this Achademy.

At this present, the estate of gentlemen cannot well traine vp their childeren within this **Realme** but eyther in **Oxford** or **Cambridge**, whereof this ensueth :

first, being theare, they vtterly lose their tymes yf they doe not follow learning onely. ffor there is no other **gentlemanlike qualitie** to be attained.

Also, by the evill example of suche, those which would aply their studies are drawn to licentiousnes and Idlenes ; and, therefore, yt were every way better that they were in any other place then theare.

[leaf 6, back] And wheareas in the vniuersities men study onely **schole learninges**, in this **Achademy** they shall study matters of accion meet for present practize, both of peace and warre. And yf they will not dispose themselves to **letters**, yet they may learne languages, or martiall activities for the service of their Cowntrey. Yf neyther the one nor the other, Then may they exercize themselves in qualities meet for a gentleman. And also the other vniuersities shall then better suffice to releive poore schollers, where now the youth of nobility and gentlemen,¹ taking vp their schollarshippes *and* fellowshippes, do disapoinete ²the poore² of their livinges and avauncementes.

Also all those gentlemen of the **Innes of cowrte** which shall not apply them selves to *the* study of the lawes, may then exercize them selves in this **Achademy** in other qualities meet for a gentleman. The Cowrtiers and other gentlemen abowte **London**, having good opportunity, may likewise do the same. All which do now for the moste parte loose their times.

ffurther, wheareas by wardeship the moste parte of noble men and gentlemen within this **Realme** haue bene brought vp ignorantly and voide of good educac[i]ons, your Maiesty may by order apoinete them to be brought vp during their minorities in this **Achademy**,² from xij to his full age³, if he [be] a gentleman by the father of fiue dissentes, and to haue the prynses allowanse towardes *the* same², whosoener haue the wardshippe of his bodye, yf yt shallbe fownde by office that he may yearely dispend 13^{li.} 6^{s.} 8^{d.} Both **Plato** and **Licurgus**, withe other greate **Philosophors**, having bene of opinion that the

¹ See *Babees Book*, p. xxxvii.

^{2 2} Interlined by another hand.

³ MS. ore ege.

educacion of childeren should not altogether be vnder the puissaunce of their fathers, but vnder the publike power and aucthority, because the publike haue therein more Interesse then their parentes. Wherby the best sorte are most like to excell in vertue, which in tymes paste knew nothing but to hallow a hownde or lure a hawke¹, which thing will much asswage the present grief that good and godly parentes endure by that tenure² of wardship. ffor (as yt is) yt not onely hurteth the body, but also (as yt were) killeth the sowle and darkeneth the eyes of reason with Ignorawnce. And when the best shall ordinarily be men of such rare vertue, Then the prince and Realme shall not so much from tyme to tyme be Charged, as they haue bene, in rewarding the well deservers. ffor honnour is a sufficient paymente for him that hath inoughe. Wheareas in tymes paste the poorest sorte were best able to deserve at the princes handes, which, without great Charges to the prince, could not be maintained. So that when theis thinges shalbe performed, ordinarie vertue can beare no price. And then younger brothers may eate grasse, yf they cannot atchieue to excell; which will bring a blessed emulacion to England. It being also no smalle Comodity that the nobility of England shalbe therby in their youthes brought vp in amity and acquaintance. And above all other, this chiefly is to be accompted of, that, by these meanes, all the best sorte shalbe trained vp in the knowledge of gods word (which is the onely fowndac[i]on of true obedience to the prince), who otherwise, thorough evill teachers, might be corrupted with papistrie.

[leaf 7] O noble prince, that god shall blesse so farre as to be the onely meane of bringing this seely, frosen, Island into such everlasting honnour that all the nations of the World shall knowe and say, when the face of an **English gentleman appeareth**, that he is eyther a **Sowldiour, a philosophor, or a gallant Cowrtier**; wherby in glory your Maiesty shall make your self second to no prince living. ffor, as **Seneca** sayeth, **Cato**, by banishing Vice in **Rome**, did deserve more honnour then **Scipio** did by conquering the **Carthagians**.

And wheareas the fame of the noblest Conquerors that ever were is onely renewed by history,—which is knowen but to a few **His-**

¹ See *Babees Book*, p. xiii.

² altered from 'bondage.'

toriographers,—*your maiesty* shall not onely haue *your* share thereof, but also for evermore, once every .3. or 6. yeares at the most, fill the eyes of the world with new and chaunge of matter, wherby all sortes of **Studentes** shalbe alwaies put in minde of **Queene Elizabethes Achademy**. And in the mean tyme, the perving of the old, and expectac[i]on for the new, shall occupy Continually every mannes tounge with **Queene Elizabethes fame**. So that *your maiesty*, being deade, shall make *your* sepulchre for ever in the mowthes of the livinge. Wherby, also, *your highnes* may saye of *your* predecessors as **Zenobia** that famous **Queene** did to **Awrelius Emperor of Rome**, which was to this effecte: “Thy Cowrte,” sayeth she, “is replenished with Ignoraunce and many Vices, wheareas my Cowrte is full fraughted with vertue.” Yea, and what further? By *your highnes* the Cowrte of England shall become for ever an Achademy of **Philosophie and Chiuallrie**. . . Among the **Lacedemonians** learning bare such price, that the ffather which gaue no learning to his Childe in his youth, did lose the succor and service which was due to him in his olde age. The **Kinges** of this **Realme** (supplying over their wardes the roames of their deceased parentes) haue the vse of their livinges during their minorityes, principally for to traine them vp in vertue, which for Conscience sake oughte not by them to be forgotten.

To conclude, by erecting this **Achademie**, there shalbe hereafter, in effecte, no gentleman within this **Realme** but good for some what, Wheareas now the most parte of them are good for nothinge. And yet therby the **Cowrte** shall not onely be greatly encreased with gallant gentlemen, but also with men of vertue, wherby *your Maiesties* and **Successors cowrtes** shalbe for ever, in steade of a **Nurserie of Idlenes**, become a most noble **Achademy of Chiuallric pollicy and philosophie**, to *your* greate fame. And better it is to haue **Renowme** among the good sorte, then to be lorde over the whole world¹. ffor so shall *your Maiesty* make *your* self to live among men for ever (wheareas all flesh hath but small continuance), and therwithall bringe youre selfe into goddes fauour, so farre as the benefittes of good workes may prevaile.

¹ ‘there being no such riches vnder heaven as to be well thought of,’ struck out.

A Booke of Precedence.

[*Harl. MS 1440, leaf 11 (old numbering 8).*]

The Copie of a Booke of Precedence of all estates *and*
playcinge to ther degrees.

Cornellis van dalw.

A DUKE.

A Duke must goe after his creation, and not after his Dukedome; the Dutchesse his wife to goe according to the same; he to haue in his howse a Cloth of Estate, and in eury place Els out of the princes presence, so that the same Com not to the ground by halfe a yarde; and likewise a dutchesse may haue her Cloth of Estate, and a barones to beare vp hir trayne in her owne howse.

A Duke may
have a Cloth
of Estate.

And there ought no Earle of Duty to washe with a Duke, but at the duke's pleasure.

Item. a Dukes Eldest sonn is Borne a Marquesse, and shall goe as a Marquisse, and weare as many poudringes¹ as a Marquisse, and haue his Assayes,² the Marquisse being present, saueing he shall goe beneath a Marquisse, and his

A Duke's
eldest son is
a Marquis.

¹ POWDERINGS: Small pieces of fur powdered or sprinkled on others, resembling the spots on ermine.—Halliwell. *Powderings*, certain Devices us'd for the filling up of any void space in carved Works, Writings, Escutcheons, &c., which last are sometimes said *To be powder'd with Ermins*.—Kersey's Phillips, 1706. (See p. 28.)

² Tasting of food to try whether there is poison in it. See *Babees Book*, p. 196, 315.

wife beneath the marchionesse, And aboue all dukes daughters; but if so be that a duke haue a daughter *which* is his whole heyre, if she be the Eldest dukes daughter, Then she shall goe before and aboue the younger dukes Eldest sonns wyfe.

A Duke's
daughter is a
Marchioness.

Item. a dukes daughter is borne a Marchionesse, and shall weare as many Poudringes as a Marchionesse, Sauing she shall goe beneth all marchionesse[s], and all dukes Eldest sonnes wyves. They shall haue none assayes in the marchionesses presens; and if they be maryed to a barron, they shall goe according to the decree of there husband. And yf they be married to a knight, or to men vnder the decree of a knight, then they are to haue place according to theyre Birthe.

Her rank
when mar-
ried.

A Duke's
younger sons
are Earls.

Item. all Dukes younger sonns be borne as Earles, and shall weare as many poudrings as an Earle, saueing they shall goe beneath all Earles and Marquises eldest sonns, and aboue all viscounts; and there wyues shall go beneath all Countisses and marquises daughters, and aboue all viscountesses next to Marquises daughters.

Item. all Dukes daughters shall goe all-one with a nother, soe that alwayes the Eldest Dukes Daughter go vpermost, vnlesse it be the Princes pleasure to the Contrary.

Of a Duke's
creation.

Item. [at] the creation of a duke, he must haue on him his surcoate and hoode, and he must be lead betweene 2 Dukes, if there be any present; if¹ not, a Marquisse or 2; and for want of a Marquis, an Erle: some² what before him on the right hand shall goe an Earle, *which* shall beare the Capp of Estate, with the Coronnett³ on it; and on the other syde against him shall goe an Earle, *which* shall beare the rod of goulde: and directly before the duke *that* is to be created must goe a Marquis of⁴ the greatest Estate, to beare the sowrd in the scabert by the poynt, with the girdle thereto belonging, the pommell

¹ MS is

² MS sonn

³ MS Coromnett

⁴ MS or

vpward; and before him an Erle to bare the Mantell or Robe of Estate, lyinge alonge vpon his armes. All these Lords that *doth seruise, must be in ther Robes of Estate. Item. His stile is proclaimed twise, the Largesse thrise.

[* leaf 11, bk.]
(MS repeats
that)

A MARQUESSE, HIS WYFE, AND CHILLDREN.

A Marquesse must goe after his Creation, and not after his marquissate, and the Marchionesse his wife according to the same; he to haue a Cloth of Estate in his owne howse, so that it hange a Yarde aboue the ground; and¹ he to haue it [in] every place savinge in a Dukes howse or in the Princes presence. And he to haue none Assayes in a dukes presence, but his cuppes couered; neyther may the marchionesse haue her gowne born in a Dutchessees presens but with a gentile-man,—ffor it is accounted a higher degree borne with a woman then with a man; but in her owne howse she may haue her gowne borne vp with a knights wife: also, ther ought no viscount to wash with a Marquesse, but at the pleasure of a marquisse.

A Marquis to
go by his
creation.

A Marchion-
ess' train,
before a
Duchess, to
be borne by
a man,
and not a
woman.

Item. a Marquesse Eldest sonn is borne an Earle, and shall goe as an Earle, and haue his assaye in an Earles presence, and were as mayny Powdrings as an Earle, saueing he shall goe beneath an Earle, and aboue all dukes younger sonnys. And his wife shall goe beneth all Countesses, and aboue all Marquises daughters. But If the Marquesse daughter be his heire, If she be the Elder marquises daughter, then she shall goe aboue the younger Marquises Eldest sonnes wyues.

A Marquis's
eldest son is
an Earl,

Item. a Marquises daughter is borne a Countisse, and shall weare as mayny powdringes as a Countes, Saueing she shall goe beneath all Countesses and marquises Eldest sonnys wyues; but they shall haue no assayes in any Countisses presence. And If they be married to a Barron, or to any other aboue a barron, then they shall goe according to the

his daughter
a Countess;

her rank
when mar-
ried.

¹ MS an

degre of there Husbands; and If they be maried to a knight, or vnder the decree of a knight, then they shall goe and haue place according to there birth.

A Marquis's
younger sons
are Vis-
counts.

Item. Marquises younger sonns be borne as viscounts, and shall weare as mayny Powdrings as a viscount, saueing onely they¹ shall goe beneath all viscounts and all Earles Eldest sonns, and aboue all barons; and there wyues shall goe beneath all viscountesses and Earles daughters, and aboue all barronesses.

Item. all Marquises daughters to goe one with a nother, so that alwayes the Eldest Marquises daughter goe vppermost, vnlesse the plesure of the prince be to the Contrary.

Of the crea-
tion of a Mar-
quis.

Item. at the Creation of a marquisse, he must haue one him his surcourt² and hoode, and Lad by a Duke and Marquisse; the sword borne by an Earle, the cappe and Sirculey³ borne by an Earle.

[leaf 12]

AN EARLE, HIS WIFE, AND CHILDREN.

An Earle shall goe after his Creation, and not after his Erldome, And the Countisse his wife shall goe according to the same, But he may haue none assayes in a Marquesses presence, but his Cuppe Covred; neither may any Countesse haue her gowne borne in a marchionesses presence with a gentle-woman, but with a gentle-man. Also an Earle may haue in his owne howse a Cloth of Estate, which shall be fringed rounde about, without any pendant. And a barron ought not to washe with any Earle, but at his pleasure.

No Earl to
haue assayes
before a
Marquis.

Barons not
to wash with
Earls.

An Earl's
eldest son is
a Viscount.

Item. an Earles Eldest sonn is borne a viscount, and shall goe as a viscount, and shall weare as mayny poudrings as a viscount; but he shall goe beneath all viscounts, and his wife beneath all viscountesses, and aboue all Earles daughters. But If she be the Earles daughter and heire, and the Elder Earles daughter, then she shall goe aboue the younger Earle Eldest sonnes wyfe.

¹ MS she

² for surcoat

³ ? circlet, coronet.

Item. all Earles daughters be borne as viscountesses, and shall were as mayny poudrings as a viscountesse;¹ yet shall they goe beneath all viscountesses and Earles eldest sonns wyues. And If they be maried to a Barron, or to Any other aboue a Barron, than they shall go after the decree of there Housbands; And If they be maried to a knight, or vnder the decree of a knight, then they to goe and haue place according to ther birthe.

Earls' daughters are Viscountesses;

Item. all Earles youngest sonnes be borne as Barrons, and shall were as mayny powdrings as a Baron, saueing they shall goe beneth all Barrons and viscountesses Eldest sonnes, and aboue all barronetts; and there wyues shall goe beneth all Barronesses and viscountes Daughters, and aboue all Baneretts wyues.

their youngest sons, Barons.

Item, all Erles daughters to goe, on with a nother, the Elder Earles daughter to goe vpermost, vnlesse the plesure of the prince be to the Contrarye.

A VISCOUNT, HIS WIFE, AND CHILDEREN.

[leaf 12, back]

A viscount must goe after his creation, and not after his viscounts[y]; and the visscountesse² his wife must haue place according to the same; and he may haue in his owne howse the cupp of Assaye houlden vnder his Cupp when he drinketh, but none assaye taken;³ he may haue Carner and Sewer, with there Towells, when they sett there seruise on the table, the viscount being sett at the table. And all viscountesses may haue there gownes borne with a man in the presence of the Countes. Also they may haue Trauers⁴ in there owne howses.

A Viscount

may not have assays taken.

Item. viscounts eldest Sonnes be borne as Barrones, and shall weare as many Powdringes as a barron, saueing

Viscounts' eldest sons are Barons;

¹ MS viscountesses

² MS visscountesses

³ See Russell's Boke of Norture in *Babees Book*, p. 196, l. 1195-8: tasting and credence (or assaying) belong to no rank under that of an Earl.

⁴ ? *Traverse*, a moveable screen, a low curtain. *Traves*, State Papers, i. 257. (Halliwell.)

he shall goe beneath all barrons, and aboue all Erles younger sonnys ; And his wyfe shall goe beneath all Baronesses, and aboue all viscounts daughters.

their daughters,
Baronesses ; their

Item. Viscounts daughters [be] borne as Barronesses, and shall weare as many powdrings as a Baronesse ; saueing she shall goe beneth all Barronesses and viscounts eldest sonnys wyues. And yf they be maryed to a Barron, they shall goe after the degree of there husband ; and If they be maryed to a knight, or to any vnder the degree of a knight, then they to go and haue place according to there birth.

younger sons,
Bannerets.

Item. Viscountes younger sonnys shall goe as Banneretts, and were as many powdrings as a banneret, saueing they¹ shall goe beneath all barenets.

Item. viscounts daughters to goe one with a nother, so that the Elder viscounts daughters do goe vppermost, vnlesse the princes plesure be to the Contrary.

[leaf 13]

A BARON, HIS WIFE, AND CHILDREN.

Of Barons.

A Barron must go after his Creation, so that the Eldest barron goe vppermost ; and the baronesse his wife must goe according to the same ; and they may haue there gownes borne vpp with a man in the presence of a viscountesse. And a barron may haue the Couer of his cupp holden vnderneath when he drinketh.

Barons'
eldest sons
are Banner-
ets.

Item. all Barrons Eldest sonnys shall goe and haue place as a Bannerett, and shall haue the vper hand of [a] Bannerett, because his ffather is a peere of the Realme. And all Barrons younger sonnys shall goe aboue all batcheler knights, because there ffather is a peere of the Realme.

Of Barons'
daughters.

Item. all Barones daughter[s] shall goe aboue all Bannerets² wyues, and shall weare as much as a bannerets³ wyfe, and shall haue the vpper hand of all bannerets wyues. And If they marry husbands vnder the degree of a knight, then shall they goe and haue place vnder all knightes wyues.

¹ MS she

² MS Bamnerets

³ MS bamerets

Item. all barrons daughters to goe one with a Nother, so that alwayes the Eldest barrones daughter goe vpper-most.

memorandum. a lord made by writt, and haueing no new somones by writt, hath no place in the parliament howse, but shall retayne and keepe the name of *Lord* during his life, by Reason of the proclamation and publication of his name in Court Royall, whether the Children¹ of shuch lords shall haue place as the Children of other barrons, or how they shall take there places.

Lords made by writ have no place in Parliament.

Item. a knights wife may haue her kirtle borne in her owne howse, or in any other place, so it be not in her betters presence: and she may haue her sheete in her owne howse.

Be it remembered, that if any of all the degrees aboue written com or be desended of the blood Royall, thay ought to S[t]and and haue place aboue all those that be of the degrees whereof they be themselues²: as a duke of the blood Royall aboue all dukes, and so the like in all other degrees, vnlesse the princes knowne plesure be to the Contrayry.

Blood Royal first.

Item. there are 4 sortes of wayes to make barrons, ether by writt or Creation:—

The 4 ways of making Barons.

1. The first and most vsiall, when they are called by writt to the parliament by there owne surname, as *Lord Latymer* of latymer.

2. when they be created by a Nother name in the right of there wif or mother, as pawlet *Lord St. Iohn*.

3. The 3^d when they be created by the name of some Castle, howse, or manner, as Butlet baron of weme.

4. The 4^d is, when³ they be created by some name of pleasure as the kinge shall best like, as Ratelif *Lord Aegremont*.

Although they be diuersly Called, yet are they all of like calleing; and though in shew some of there dignities

[leaf 13, back]
All Barons equal.

¹ MS Childrem ² See *Babees Book*, p. 190, 285. ³ MS when

Barons keep
their name
tho' they sell
their estate.

be from the howse, yet is the right and dignitie in the person of the noble man; for although he sell or exchange¹ that cometh the name of his dignitie of, yet shall he still for euer be called barron of the same place, and haue his seate and voyce in the parliament by the same name he was first called and Created; as, for example,—

The *Lord Audleigh* of Audlegh and helighe Castle sould Bothe² thour & thorn³, and yet is the Barron as he was before.

[leaf 12 back,
at foot]

The *Lord Clifford* of Clifford exc[h]aunged his castell of Clifford, with other lands therefore, with king Edward the first, for the honour of Craven and other lands there, and yet is the *Lord Clifford* as before.

Arthur *Lord Grey* of wilton sould wilton, and bought other lands, and yet is the barron of wilton notwithstanding.

[leaf 13, back] THE PROCEEDING TO THE HIGH COURT OF PERLIAMENT AT WESTMINSTER, FROM HER HIGHNES ROYALL PALLACE OF WHITEHALL.

first, mesingers of the Chamber
Gentlemen 2 and 2
Esquires 2 and 2
Esquires for the bodye
The 6 Clarkes of Chancery
Clarkes of the signet
Clarkes of the priue scale
Clarkes of the Councell
The maysters of the Chancery
Batcheler knights
Knights Bannerets
The Trumpeters
Sergiants at the law

¹ MS exchange

² MS Bethe

³ Is it 'tower & thorn,' or 'the one & the other'?

The queenes Sergeant alone
 The queenes Attorney and Soliciter together
 Pursuants of Armes
 The Barrons of the exchequer
 Iustices of the kinges benche and of the Common
 place
 The Lord Cheife Baron together
 The Lord Cheife Iustice of the Comon please
 The Lord Cheife Iustice of England and the master of
 . the Rowles together
 Knights of the bathe
 Knights of the priuate Councell
 Knights of the gar'er

¶ He that Carieth the queenes Cloake and hat.

Barones younger sonns
 Viscounts younger sonns
 Barrons Eldest sonns
 Earles younger sonns
 Viscounts Eldest sonnes
 Marquises younger sonnes
 Earles Eldest sonns
 Dukes younger sonns
 Marquises eldest sonns
 Dukes Eldest sonn
 The Cheife Seeretary, no barron
 The Tresurer and Comptrouller
 All the barrons in there Roabes, two and 2, the young-
 est for-most
 All Bishopps in there Robes, two *and* 2, the youngest
 ffor-most
 The Lord Admirall and the Lord Chamberlayne to-
 gether, if they be Barrons and l[i]ke degree
 ¶ Heraldes of Armes on the syde
 Viscounts in there Robes, the youngest formost

[leaf 14]

Earles in there Roabes, 2 and 2, youngest formost
 Marquises in there Roabes
 Dukes in there Roabes
 The *Lord* President of the Councell
 and the Lord Priuie Zeale
 ¶ Clarentius and Norrey kings of Armes
 The *Lord* Chancelor and the Lord Tresurer of England
 togeather
 The Archbishop of Canterbury and the Arc[hbi]shop
 of Yorke togeather
 Sergeantes at Armes
 Garter Principall King of Armes
 The Capp of Estate borne by an Earle, and with him
 on the left hand the Earle Marshall of England
 with the gilte rodde
 The Sworde borne by an Earle
 Then the queenes Maiestye on horsbacke, or in chariott,
 in her Robes of Estate, her trayne borne by a
 Dutchesse or Countisse
 The Lord Chamberlayne and vice Chamberlayn on
 each side of the queenes Maiestie
 Then the Pentioners with ther poleaxes on each side of
 her Maiestie
 And a litle behinde her the *Master* of the horsse, lead-
 ing a Spare horse.
 Then Laydyes and gentileweomen, according to there
 Estates, 2 and 2
 Then the Captayne of the Guard, with all the guard
 following him, 2 and 2.

Be it noted, that in proceeding to the parliament, these
 5 bishoppes following keepe there playces ordinariley, who-
 so is in them, viz.—

The Archbishopp of Canterbury	} so placed by there dignitie
The Archbishopp of Yorke, 2	
The Bishopp of London, 3	

The Bishopp of Durham, 5

The Bishop of winchester, 4 { the prelate of
winchester heare

(The bishoppes of London, winchester, and Durham, so placed by act of *parliament*.)

All other bishoppes take there places according to there creations.

THE PLACEING OF GREATE OFFICERS, ACCORDING TO AN [leaf 14, back]
ACT OF PARLIAMENT MADE IN ANNO XXXj HENRICUS
OCTAUI [A.D. 1539]

These 4, viz.

The Lord vicegarent is to be placed on the bishops side,
aboue all

1. The lord Chancellor
2. The Lord Tresurer
3. The Lord President of the Councell
4. The Lord Priuy seale

Being of the decree of A Baron or aboue, shall sit
in the perlament and all Assembles of Councell,
and aboue all Dukes not being of the blood Royall,
viz.,

The kinges Brother, Vncle, or Nephew.

These Sixe, viz.,

1. The lord C[h]amberlayne of England
2. The lord Constable of England
3. The lord Marshall of England
4. The lord Admirall of England
5. The lord Greate Master or Lord Steward of the
kinges howse

6. The kings Chamberlayne

Are to be playseed in all assemblyes of Councell
after the lord priuate seale, according to there
degrees and estates; viz., if he be a barron, aboue
all barrons; if he be an Earle, aboue all Earles.

The Kinges Secretary

being a barron of perliament, shall sitt aboue all barrons; and if he be of higher degree then a barron, he shall sit and be playced according to his degree.

If any of these xi officers aboue mentioned be not of the degree of a barron of *Parliament*, whereby he hath not power to assendt or dissent in the high Court of *Perliament*, Then he or they are to sitt vppon the vppermost wolsack in the *parliament* Chamber, the one aboue the other, in like order as is aboue specified.

THE NUMBER OF MOURNERS AT FUNIRALLS, ACCORDING TO THE DEGREE AND ESTATE OF THE DEFUNCT.

A King to haue mourners	xv
A Queene or a prince	xiiij
A Duke or a Marquisse	xi
An Earle or a Viscount	ix
A Barron	vij
A Knight	v
An Esquire or gentlemen	3

LLIUERYES FOR NOBLE MEN AND GENTILEMEN AT THE PARLIAMENT, OF EURY MAN ACCORDING TO HIS ESTATE.

A Duke to haue for his gowne, sloppe, and mantell, a xvi yards, and liury for 2 [?] xvij seruauents.

A Marquesse for his gowne, slope, and mantell, xvj yards, and liury for xvj seruants.

An Archbishop, as a Duke.

An Earle for his gowne, sloope, and Mantell, xiiij yards, and liury for xij Seruants.

A viscount for his Gowne and Mantle, xij yards, and liury for x seruants.

A barron or Barranett, being knight of the garter, for his gowne and hoode, viij yardes, and Liury for viij Seruants.

A knight, vi yarges, and liuery for iiij Seruants.

An Esquire for the bodye, as a knight, and liuery for iiij Seruants.

All other Esquires and Gentlemen, v yarges, and liuery for 2 seruants.

Be it Remembred, that none may weare a hood vnder the degree of an Esquire of the Kinges household, but only tippets of a quarter of a yarde broad; and in tyme of need they to weare hoodes.

Nether may any weare hoodes with a Rowle slyued ouer there heades, or other wayes being of that fashon, vnder the decree of a barron or an Erles sonn, an here bit¹ only without Rowle.

[WHAT SERVANTS NOBLEMEN MAY KEEP.]

A Duke may haue a Tresuror, A Chamberlayne, 4 greate hushers, A steward, A Comptrouller, A master of his howse.

An Erle may haue a secretary, A Comptrouller, A Steward, 2 great hushers, A gentile-man for his howse.

A Baron may haue A Steward, A Clarke of his kitchin, A yeoman of his horse, A gentileman husher (but Couered, and not bare-Hedded when he goeth abroad), And a Yeamon Husher, A grome of his Chamber, A yemon husher of his hall, and his grone, (but no Marshall,) A Sewer Armed, A Caruer, (but vnmarried,) A foreman [?]

his cup couered, t[h]oughe in the presence of his better, but no assay taken at any tyme; his foote Carpit single.

[A BARONESS'S RIGHTS.]

A Baronesse Lying in Childbed may haue single carpetts round about her bead, but no foot sheete, with degrees nor with-out.

¹ ? a hair bit

A Baronesse may haue no trayne borne ; but haueing a gounne with a trayne, she ought to beare it her selfe. Quere, whether she may haue any trayne borne to the greate chamber doore in Court, or noe.

Her gentileman husher goeing before her abroad, ought to goe vncouered.

LIVERIES FOR NOBLE WOMEN AT THE INTERTAYNEMENT
OF ANY GREATE ESTATE.

A DUTCHESS.

for her selfe xvi yards
for her trapper of her horse, of veluet . xvi yards
and of Cloth v yards
for her 3 gentle weman,¹ 5 yards a
peece, fiftene yards xv
for her 3 gentlemen xv yards
for her selfe, one mantlet, one barbe, one frontlet, 4
kerchifes
And Liury for 12 seruants.

A COUNTISSE.

for her selfe 12 yards
for her traper 5 yards
for her 3 gentilewomen 15 yards
for her selfe, one mantlet, on barbe, one frontlet, 3
kerchiefes
for her gentle weoman, of Lynen all points as before
a Liury for 8 seruants.

A BARRONESSE.

for her selfe 12 yards
for her tray[er] 5 yards
for her 2 gentlewomen 10 yards
for her 2 gentlemen 10 yards
for her selfe, one mantlet, one barbe, one frontlet, and
2 kerchiefes

¹ ? '&' struck out here

for her 2 gentleweomen, 2 mantlets, 2 barbes, 2 front-
 letts, and one kerchief.
 for her owne gentileweoman, 2 elles of fyne holland,
 And liuery for 4 seruants.

LADYES AND GENTLE WEOMEN.

for her selfe 6 yards
 for her trayer 4 yardes
 for her gentle weomen 3 yards
 for her selfe, on Mantelet, one barbe, one frontlet, and
 2 kerchifes
 And liuery for 4 seruants.

 THE ORDER OF ALL ESTATES.

A Dukes Eldest sonnes be Earles, and all the rest of
 his sonns are Lords, with the Addition of there Christen
 name, as Lord Thomas, Lord Henry.

Item. if the Dukes Eldest sonn, being an Earle, haue
 yssue male, his Eldest son shall be called lord of a place or
 barrony, and all his other sonns no Lordes but in Curtisy ;
 but all his daughters be Ladyes.

The Dukes Eldest sonn, being of the blood Royall,
 shall sit or goe aboue a marquesse.

All marquises Eldest sonnes are named no Earles, but
 lord of a place or barrony, without any Adission of his
 Christen name ; and all his other bretheren, Lordes, with
 the Addition of there Christened name.

A Marquesse Eldest sonn of the blood Royall shall sit
 or goe aboue an Earle.

An Earles Eldest sonn is called a lord of a place or
 Baron[y], and all his other sonnes no lords, but all his
 daughters are Ladyes

Earles Eldest sonn, if he be of the blood Royall, shall
 sit and goe aboue a Viscount. If he be not, the[n] aboue
 a barron. [leaf 15, back]

A viscounts Eldest sonn is no Lord, nor no other of his sonns, nor none of his daughter[s] ladyes.

A viscounts eldest sonn, yf he be of the blood Royall, shall sit and goe a-boue A baron; yf not, then a-boue a barons sonn; and so of all other dignities.

A slope is a morning Cassock for Ladyes and gentile wemen, not open before.

A surcoate is a mor[n]ing garment mad lyke a Close or straight-bodied gowne, which is worne vnder the mantell; the same for a Countesse must haue a trayne before, A nother behind: for a baronesse no trayne.

The trayne before to be narrow, not exceding the brea[d]th of 8 inches, and must be trussed vp before vnder the girdle, or borne vppon her left Arme.

p. 13, *Poudrings*; p. 15, *Marchioness's train*. Lord Leconfield writes: "So far as I can learn from others, it is not usual to carry out at State Ceremonies now, the rules laid down in this Book of Precedence with regard to the bearing of the trains of a Marchioness and Duchess.

"The *Pouderings* are, I am informed, bands of ermine, called also *Minirer*; but I cannot learn what number is allotted to each order of Peers. They are worn on the Cape of the Robe."

Mr G. E. Adams, Rouge Dragon, writes: "the *Pouderings* are surely the same as 'the guards of ermine' in Clark's *Heraldry*, edited by J. R. Planché (Bell and Daldy, 1866). p. 224, 'A Duke's mantle . . . has only 4 guards of ermine with a gold lace above each, that of the Prince having 5.' 'The mantle which a duke wears at the *Coronation* . . . is doubled with ermine below the elbow, and spotted with 4 rows of spots on *each* shoulder.'

"From the same book it appears that

a Marquess	has	3½	guards	on	the	shoulder
an Earl	"	3	"	"	"	"
a Viscount	"	2½	"	"	"	"
a Baron	"	2	"	"	"	"

And that the Coronation robes

of a Marquess	have	{	4	rows	of	spots	on	the	right	shoulder
			3	"	"	"	on	the	left	"
of an Earl	"	"	3	"	"	"	on	each	"	"
of a Viscount	"	{	3	"	"	"	on	the	right	"
			2	"	"	"	on	the	left	"
of a Baron	"	"	2	"	"	"	on	each	"	"

The Ordering of a Funerall for a Noble Person in Hen. 7. time.¹

[MS Cott. Julius B. xii. leaf 7, back—leaf 8.]

This Is the ordynauunce And guyding that perteyneth vnto the worshippingfull Beryng of Any Astate, to be done in maner And fourme ensuyng.

ffurst, to be offerde A swerde, by the moost worshipfull of the kyn of the saide Estate, And ony² bee presente; elles by the moost worshipfull Man that is present there, on his partie.

Item, In like wise his Shelde, his Coote of worship, his helme and creste.

Item, to be hadde A banere of the Trinitie, A baner of oure Lady, A bannere of Seint george, A baner of the Seynt that was his aduoure, And A Baner of his Armes/ Item A penon of his Armes; Item A Standarde, and his beste therein: Item A geton³ of his devise with his worde.

¹ This heading is in a late hand.

² MS only

³ "Euery baronet, euery estat aboue hym shal have hys baner displayd in y^e feild, yf he be chyef capteyn; euery knyght, his penoun; euery squier or gentleman, his *getoun* or standard, &c. . . . Item, Y^e meyst lawfully fle fro y^e standard & *getoun*, but not fro y^e baner ne penon. . . . Nota, a stremer shal stand, in a top of a schyp, or in y^e forecastel: a stremer shal be slyt, & so shal a standard, as welle as a *getoun*: a *getoun* shal berr y^e lenth of ij yardes, a standard of iii or 4 yardes, & a stremer of xii. xx. xl. or lx. yardes longe." MS. Harl. 838, quoted by Sir F. Madden in *Archæol.* xxii. 396-7. He adds that Sir H. Nicolas, in the *Retrospect*, Rev. N.S. i. 511, quotes MS. Harl. 2258 and Lansd. leaf 431, the former of which states, "Euery standard & *Guydhome* [whence the etymology of the word is obvious (? F.)] to have in the chief the crosse of St George, to be slitte at the ende, and to conteyne the creste or supporter, with the posey, worde, and devise of the owner . . . a *guydhome* must be two yardes and a halfe, or three yardes longe." But in Dugdale's *Warwickshire*, p. 327, is a bill, with "Item, a *gyton* for the shippe of viij yerdis long, poundrid full of raggid staves; for the lymnyng and workmanship, ij s." *Ret.* Rev. i. 511, *ib.*

Item. A doubble valance Aboute the herce, both aboute And by-neith, *with* his worde And his devise written therine.

Item, xij Sc[oc]hons of his Armes to bee sett vpon the barves withoute And *with*in the herce, And iij dosen penselles to stande aboute vpon the herse Amonge the lightes.

Item, to be ordeignede as many scochons as be pilers In the Chirche ; And Scochons to bee sett In the iij quarters of the saide chirche, as best is to be sette by discrecion.

Item, as many Torchies as the saide Astate was of yeres of Age ; And on euery torchie A scochon hanging ; And the berers of the torches In blakk.

Item, it is to bee ordeignede standing .v. officers of Armes Aboute the saide herse, that Is to say, one byfore the saide herse, bering the cote of Armes worship, And he standing at the hede in the myde-warde of the saide hers. The ij^{de} standing on the right Side of the herse in the fore fronte, bering his Swerde. The iij^{de} standing on the lifte Side of the saide herse, bering his helmet *and* creste ; The iiijth on the Right Side of the saide hers, in the Nethere parte of the hers, bering his baner of Armes ; And the vth standing on the lifte side, In the nethere parte, he bering his penon, So standing till the offering. And the baners of the trinitie, oure lady, Seinct george, And the baner of his Adnoure¹ to bee sett Aboue In parties of the saide Hers, And his standarde also.

Item. to bee ordeynede certeyne clothes of golde for the ladies of his kyn being *with*in the saide hers ; And they to offer the saide clothes of golde.

Item, a certeyne of Innocentes clothed In white, euery Innocent bering A Taper in his hande.

Item, the hors of the saide estate, trappede *with* his Armes ; And a man of armes, being of his kinne, vpon the same hors, or elles eny other mān of worship in his name, hauyng In his hande A Spere, Swirde, or Axe, so to be presentede to the offering in the Chirche *with* ij worshipfull men, on goeing on that on Side of the hors,

¹ Also a pensel to bere in his hande of his *arowrye*. Lansd. MS cited by Douce in *Archæologia*, xvii. 296, and explained by him ' *Acowrye*, cognizance, badge, distinction.' See p. 33, below, l. 6.

And that other' oñ that other' Side of the hors, And a man leding the same hors.

Item, the heire of the saide estate, after he hath offrede, shaft Stande vpon the lifte Side of the preste Receyving the Offering of the Swerde, helme, *and* Creste, Baner of Armes, Cote of worship, And penoñ.

Item, ij men of worship to stonde oñ the same Side of the preste, holding A bason, with therin for the offering.

A Funeral in Popish times.

[Ashmole MS 837, art. vi. leaf 133-9, written in the
time of Charles I. or II.]

The manner of Ordering of every man att y^e setting forth
of the Cors, and how every man shall goe after y^e estate
and Degree that they bee of, in dew order.

The order of the
procession is :

<p>First, The Orders of Freres as they bee accustomed.</p> <p>Then the monkys and Chanons ; after them the Clarkys ; then the Priests ; and then they of [the] Church where y^e Body shalbe buried must have the <i>preeminence</i> to goe nearest the Corse within their juri[s]diction. Then y^e Prælates that bee in Pontifica- libus ; Then sertayne gentlemen in Dowle,¹ their hood vppon their sholders ; Then the Chaplyn or Chaplyns of the defunct ; next them the Overseers ; Then the executours weying their hoods² on their Heddes, going in good Order, ij <i>and</i> ij. Then a gentylman in a mourning habit, with a hood on his face, to bere y^e Banner of his Armes, if hee bee not vnder y^e degree of a Baneret ; and if hee bee but a Bachelour Knight, hee to have but a Penon of his Armes, and a guidon with his Creste, And a paust (<i>sic</i>) wrytyng therein, and y^e Crose of <i>Saint George</i>. * In y^e first quarter the Banarette to have his Standard made in likewyse, with his Crest, the Bannor or Pennon on y^e right side before the Corps, and the Standard or guidon on the other side before the Corps, and y^e Herald of Armes betweene them, a space before theme. Then the Corps and 4 Banners of</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Friars. 2. Monks. 3. Clerks. 4. Priests. 5. Church-attendants. 6. Prelates. 7. Men in black. 8. Chaplain. 9. Overseers. 10. Executors. 11. Banner-bearers. 12. Herald. 13. The Corpse, and four gentle-
--	--

[* leaf 133. back]

¹ mourning. Cf. 'mourning habit,' 6 lines down.

² MS has 'Heddes on their hoods.'

sanctes¹ att the fower Corners, borne by 4 gentilmen men bearing
 in mourning habattes, with hoddys on their faces, Te 4 banners.
 one of the Trynity att y^e Hede, on y^e right side; the
 other, of our Lady, att the Hede on the other side;
 The third, of the Armes of *Saint George*, att y^e Feet
 on the ryght side; The 4th, of his avowry², of the other
 syde: Then next after the Corps, the Chiefe mournour 14. Chief Mourner.
 alone, and the other mournours to goe two *and* two, 15. Other Mourn-
 ceartayne space one from another; and next theyme ers.
 the greatest statys, and a space after theyme all other to 16. Nobles.
 follow as *servantes*, and theyme that will. and when 17. Servants.
 y^e Corps *commyth*, where y^e shall remayne, att the At the west door,
 West dore of the Church, A prælat shall sens the the corpse is
 *Corps, which shall do the devyne service; then sixe of censed,
 theyme of y^e place, being prestys or religious, whither [* leaf 134]
 they bee, bere y^e Corps, or else so many gentylmen;
 and att y^e 4 Corners of the rygh Cloth, fower of the
 greatest estates of the sayd Church must bee support-
 yng of y^e iiij Corners, as if they bare him; and so had then borne into
 into the Quier, where must bee a goodly herse well the Quire, where
 garnished with *Lichtes*, pencelles, and scochyns of his is a herse, with
 Armes; and if hee bee an Earle, hee must have a lights,
 Cloth of Magesty, with a Vallance fryngyd; and if hee
 bee a Knight Banarett, hee may have a vallance
 fryngyd, and a Bachelour Knight none. The sayd
 herse must bee raylyd about, and hangyd with blake hung with black
 Cloth; and the Grownd within the Rayles must bee cloth.
 coveryd with blake Cloth; And the fourmes that the
 mourners do lene vppon within the Rayles; the Chiefe
 morner att the Head, the other morner att the sydes;
 and the Helme, Crest, wreth, and mantyll must bee att
 the Hede vppon the bere, the shild over the left syde,
 and y^e sword on the right side; The *Cote of Armes [* leaf 134, back]
 on the bere, the banneres to be holdyn without the
 rayles, in forme as they wente; The Herauld to stand

¹ saints. MS sancales.² See p. 30, note.

After the Dirge,
the clergy sur-
round the Corpse,

sing anthems, and
say prayers.

The 4 Banners are
borne to the
grave;

the Executors see
the Corpse buried.

att the Hedde without the rayles, weryng the Kings Cote of Armes. The derge don, the *prelates* and *pontificalles* to Fence the Corps within the rayles, and all the Covente standing about y^e Herse, without the rayles, singing diuerse antems; and att every Kyrie lyson, one to say with an high voice for y^e sowle A Pater noster: the sayd morneres to bee gon their way before that the Seremonyes bee don: then the *iiij* banneres to bee borne to the grave, but nothing else, then to bee sett agayne att y^e Herse till over the morow that y^e Masses bee sayd: The executoris must see y^e buryng of the Corps; the Helme, Crest, shilde, Coote of Armes, and swerde, must bee taking away, and sitt apon the high Awter, till over the morow att y^e massis; then to bee sette over y^e bere.

[leaf 135]

The manner att the Offering att the interrement of Noble-men.

Next morning all
the mourners
hear Mass, and
make their
offerings.

The Chief Mourner
offers 3s. 4d.

The Executors
offer one by one.

The 2nd Mass is
of the Trinity.

[* leaf 136, back]

First in y^e morning betymes, Masse of our Lady bee [said], the banners to bee holdyn, the helme, Childe,¹ sword, the Cote of Armes, to bee layd vppon y^e bere in dew order, and the morners in there places: Att the offering tyme the cheife morner, accompanyd with all the other, to goe forth att y^e hede, att the left hede of the herse, and none to offer but y^e chiefe mourner att that masse, and hee to offer *iijs iiijd*, and then to retorne, on the other side, to his place that hee came fro; the harald weryng his Cote if the mourners bee not present att y^e sayd masse; The executores to goe in like mannour to y^e offering, and none to offer but one of theyme, and then to goe to their places that they came fro.

The second masse of the trynite att y^e offering likewise, as before fanyng.² That hee shall offer 5s; and the third masse must bee of *Requiem), and that to bee song

¹ Shield.

² not 'sauyng'? (G. P.)

by y^e noblest prelat Pontificalibus. The chefe morn-
 eres, accompanyd as before, shall offer for the masse
 pene vijs viiij^d ; then to their places as they came fro,
 att every tyme ; the Heraulde or Heraulds there beyng,
 weryng their Masteres Cote of Armes, going before the
 morners to and fro the offeryng, and so to bring theyme
 to their places agayne on the other side ; and the sayd
 officers of Armes to stand without the rayles att the
 Hede.

The Chief Mourn-
 ers offer 7s. 9d. for
 the mass-penny.

Item, there must bee offeryd the Cote of Armes by
 two of the gretyst gentylmen.

The deceased's
 Coat of Arms,

Item, too other to offer his swerd, the pomell and
 the Crosse foreward.

sword,

Item, ij to offer his Helme and Crest, and if hee
 bee of y^e degree of a Earle, then a Knight rydyng on a
 Corser trapyd with the Armes of y^e defunct, the sayd
 Knight armyd att all peces savyng the hede, having in
 his hand a battle-axe, the poynt downeward, led by
 *twey too other Knightes from the west dore of the
 Church tyll hee came to the dext.¹ in the quire, the
 officer or offyceers att Armes going before hym ; and
 there the sayd Knight to alight, and the sexton there to
 take y^e Horse as is fee, and the Knight to bee ledd to
 the offeryng, and there to offer y^e axe, and the poynt
 downeward ; then y^e sayd Knight to bee convayd into
 the revestre, and there to bee vnarmyd.

helm and crest,
 are offered.
 If he was an Earl,

[* leaf 137]

his horse goes as
 the Sexton's fee,
 and his axe to the
 church.

Then the rest of the mornys to goe, too and too, to
 the offeryng ; and so to their placys.

Also, yf it bee an Earle, there must bee too gentyl-
 men to bryng too Clothes of bawdkyn from the one
 syde of the quire, and deliver them to the Herald,
 which shall deliver them to too of y^e grettest estatys,
 which must offer theyme, the lowest estate first, and
 then the other, some men calles this Clothys ' pawlles,'
 and sume ' Clothys of gold,' which shall remaine in y^e

For an Earl too,

palls, or cloths of
 gold, must be
 offered.

¹ desk :—the Litany or fald-stool.

Lastly, all offer
that will.
[* leaf 137, back]

Churche; then all the othyr to offer that wyll,¹ the
gretyst estatys to *offyr first, next after the executores.
The offering don, the *sermon* to begyn; and att y^e last
end of the masse, Att 'Verbum Caro,' the banner of
Armes or pennon shalbe offeryd, as y^e state is of degre.

The Nombre of morners, after y^e degre of the defunct.

A King has
15 Mourners,

The King to have xv.

A Earle to have ix.

A Duke to have xij.

A Baron to have vij.

and a Knight 5.

A Marcus to have xj.

A Knight to have v.

Syttynge of Noblemen.

Blood royal gives
precedence to a
noble.

A Dukes sonn *and* heire, beyng of the blood royall,
shalbe sett above A Marquis; and if hee bee not of y^e
blood Royall, hee shall sitt above an Earle; And an
Erles eldest sonn, if hee bee of blood ryall, shall sitt
above a Vicount; and if hee bee not of blood riall,
hee shall sitt above a Baron.

[* leaf 138]
Ladies take their
husbands' rank.

*And as for all Ladyes and gentylwomen: to bee
sytt after the degree of their husbandes; and if any of
the Ladyes or gentylwomen bee of the blood ryall, the
King may command them att his plesure.

Fiberyes for Noblemen att Interyments, ebery man
acordynge to his estat.

A Duke, for his owne slope and mantyl, 16 yerdes
att xs the yerde, and Livery for eightene; And a
Erle, for his gowne, slope, and mantyll, sixteene yerdes
att viijs. the yerd, and Livery for 12 *servantes*.

Allowances for a
Baron, who is a
Knight of the
Garter.

A Baron or Banneret, beyng Knight of the Garter,
for his gowne and hood, sixe yerdes; and Livery for
viij *servantes*.

A Knight, 5 yards, six shillings eight pence y^e yard,
and linerie for fower *servantes*.

¹ After þat, fast at hande
Comes þo time of offrande :
Offer or leene, wheþer þe lyst.

A Squyer for y^e Body, as a Knight, and Livery for iij *servantes*.

All other *Esquires* and gentylmen, att five shillinges y^e yard; and *livery for iij *servantes*. And every gentylman *servant* iiij yards. [* leaf 138. back]

Non to were no hoodes vnder the degree of a *Esquier* of Household, bot onely typpettes of a quarter of a yard brode; and in tyme of ned the[y] mey wher hoddys.

Hoods worn by *Esquires* and their superiors: tippetts by their inferiors.

Also, non to wher no hoddys with a Roll slyvyd, on his hede, or otherwise beyng of that fasion, vnder y^e degre of a Baron, or an Erles sonn and heire; bott onely hoddys without Rolles.

No hoods with rolls to be worn by any one below a Baron.

¶ appertayning to y^e Officers att Armys.

Item, att y^e Buryall of on, being a Pere of y^e Realme, of the bloode Ryall, or elles in any of theis Offices, as Conestable, Mareshall, Chancelour, Hegg Tresorer, Chamberlayn, Steward, Admirall, or Lord Privy Seale, there hath been accustomyd, all y^e officers of Armys to wher their Cottes of y^e Kings armys, and to have their gownes, and hoddys; and five Pounds to bee divided amongst them. *In likewys, yf any Lord of the parlement chance to dye duryng the tyme of y^e parlement, they to have as affor is sed.

At the burial of a Peer of the blood Royal,

or one in the high offices, or Parliament,

the Officers of Arms wear their coats-of-arms,

and have 5*l*. between them.

[* leaf 139]

P. 29. Mr G. E. Adams, Rouge Dragon, says: "No doubt 'his beste' means his crest: and query if it is not a miswriting of the MS for *crest* instead of *beast*. For it would not follow that a man has a beast for his crest: mine is (a beast of) a Bird, and that of Lord Hill 'a Castle,' no beast at all. No doubt, however, beasts, or bits of them, are most common. In olden time (days of *gold* for us) the Heralds arranged all the state funerals. The Lord Chamberlain is an innovation, introduced to manage the *private* funerals of Royalty, as being more under the Sovereign's thumb than the 'Earl Marshal' (an hereditary office) and his Heralds. The Lord Chamberlain has even now only to do with *private* funerals, such as those of the Duchess of Kent, and of 'Albert the Good,' &c. &c. Those of the Dukes of York and Kent, of George III. and IV., William IV., Duke of Wellington, &c., devolved on us.'

The definition of an Esquire, and the severall sortes of them according to the Custome and Usage of England.

[*Ashmole MS 837, art. viii. fol. 162.*]

An Esquire, called in latine Armiger, Scutifer, et homo ad arma, is he that in times past was Costrell to a Knight, the bearer of his sheild and helme, a faithfull companion and associate to him in the Warrs, serving on horsebacke; whereof every knight had twoe at the least [in] attendance upon him, in respect of the fee, For they held their land of the Knight by Cottage, as the Knight held his of the King by Knight service.

At this day, that Vocation is growne to be the first degree of gentry, taken out of the service in the warrs, from whence all the other degrees of nobility are borrowed.

The first sort of them, and the most ancient, are the Eldest sonnes of Knights, and the eldest sonnes of them successively in infinitum.

The second sort, are the eldest sonnes of the younger sonnes of Barons and noblemen of higher degree, which taketh end, and are determined, when the Cheife Males of such Elder sonnes doe fayle, and that the in-heritance goeth away with the heires female.

The third sort, are those that by the King are Created Esquires by the gift of a collar of SS, or such bearing armes are the principall and cheife of that Coate Armour, and of there wholle race; out of whose familys, although divers other houses doe spring and Issue, yet the Eldest of that Coate armure only is an Esquire, and the residue are but gentlemen.

The fourth and last sort of Esquires, are such, as bearing office in the Commonwealth or in the Kinges house, are therefore called and reputed to be Esquires, as the Sergeants at the law, the Escheators in Every Shire and in the Kings house, the heralds of armes, the Sergeants at Armes, and the Sergeants of Every office, who have the Coller of SS given them, but having noe Armes, that degree dieth with them, and their Issue is not Ennobled thereby.

The good wyfe wold a pylgremage.

[*Porkington MS, No. 10, leaf 135, back, ab. 1460—70 A.D.*]

The good wyf wold a pylgremage vnto þ ^e holly londe :	The good wife
¶ sche sayd, “my dere dozttur, þou most vndor ³ -stonde	tells her daughter 4
¶ For to gowerne well this hous, and saue thy selfe frow schond.	[leaf 136] how to manage her house and herself.
¶ For to do as I þ ^e teche, I charge the þou fonde.	8
¶ Witt an O & a ny, seyd hit ys full 3ore, ¹	
¶ That lothe chyld lore be-howytt, and leve chyld moche more.	12
¶ When I am out of þ ^e toune, loke that [thou] be wyse,	When I'm away,
¶ And rene þou not fro hous to house lyke a nantyny gryce ;	don't run about like a St Anthony's Pig, 16
¶ For þ ^e yonge men cheres the, they wyll sey þou art nyce,	
¶ And euery boy wyll wex bold to stere þ ^e to lovd ² wysse.	or every boy will want to seduce you. 20
¶ Witt añ O & a I, my talle þou atende :	
¶ Sylدون mossyth the stone þat oftyn ys tornnyd & wende.	24

¹ This line, like many others in the poem, is written in the MS as part of the one above it.

² ? lewd.

Don't show off
to attract men's
notice.

¶ Schowe not thy selfe to proude,
passynge thyn a-stat,
¶ To make men loke aftur þ^e,
and aske, "who ys that?" 28

[leaf 136, back]

¶ A gentyll woman, or' a callot,
men wyll deme thow arte.
¶ Were no nodor' a-ray this weke
þen thow meyst were aft gatt. 32

¶ Witt an O & a I,
men wyll sey þis,
"Be wyne hope men mey se
where þ^e tawerne ys." 36

On holy days,
when you sing
or dance, don't
hang your girdle
too low

¶ Doȝttur, in aft company
vppon þ^e hally day,
¶ Wheþer þou wylt daunce or synge,
or' witt thy fellowys pley, 40

¶ Honge thy gordoff nott to lowe,
but take þ^e knot a-way.

¶ Where no beydis a-bout þe,
but lit fall for' thyn a-raye. 44

¶ Witt an O & a I,
thus men wyll tell,
¶ "The corsser' hathe his palfrey dyȝt
aft reydy for' to sell." 48

Also, hide your
white legs, and
don't show your
stockings
(or drawers)

¶ Doȝttur, seyde þe good wyfe,
hyde thy legys whyte,
¶ And schew not forth thy stret hossyn
to make men have de-lytt; 52

¶ Thow hit plese hem for' a tym,
hit schaff be thy de-spytt,
¶ And men wyll sey
"of þi body þou carst but lytt." 56

¶ Witt an O and an I,
seyd Hit is full ryve,

¶ "The bocher' schewyth feyre his flesche,
for' he wold sell hit full blythe." 60

[leaf 137]

like a butcher
the flesh he
wants to sell.

- ¶ Be þou noþȝt of lowȝttur lyȝt,
nor of contenance lyȝt ;
- ¶ Ouer homly ys not best,
men may dem Aryȝt. 64
- ¶ Tyk not witt hondis nor fette,
hit ys not a goodly syȝt ;
- ¶ Schamfast schuld maydons be,
and stronge witt all ther' myȝt. 68
- ¶ Witt a O & a I,
þ^e mon ys at þ^e foll,
- ¶ That he wyll lowys scheppis flesche,
That wettytt his bred in woll. 72
- ¶ Take hede to þⁱ byssenis,
& make not out of session ;
- ¶ Syt not witt no man a-loune,
for oft in trust ys tressoun ; 76
- ¶ Thow þou thenk no þenke a-myse,
ȝett feyre wordis be gayssoun ;
- ¶ Feyre and towe I-leyde to-gedore,
kyndoll hit woll, be resson. 80
- ¶ Witt a O & a I,
wett ore euer þou wende,
- ¶ A fyre of sponys, and lowe of gromis,
Full soun woll be att a nende. 84
- ¶ Doȝttur, temper well þⁱ tonge,
& vse not monny tallis,
- ¶ For lessynggis wyll lepe out amonge,
that oftyn brewis ballis. 88
- ¶ Bost not to meche of thy selfe,
but kepe a mese for allys ;
- ¶ Take not euery roppys-end
witt euery man þat hallis. 92
- ¶ Witt an O & a I,
I wolde þou vnder-stode,
- ¶ A follis bolt ys son I-schot,
and dothe but lyttyll gode. 96

Don't indulge in
light laughter
or looks.

Don't tap (P)
with your
hands or feet.

Don't sit alone
with men :

fire and tow
will kindle.

[leaf 137, back]
Don't talk too
much :

a fool's bolt
is soon shot.

Don't change
friends too often.

- ¶ Change not thy frend all day
for no feyre speche ;
- ¶ A trusty frende ys good I-fonde,
who-so may hyme reche, 100
- ¶ 3efe anny fortun fallt amysse,
then mey he be thy leche ;
- ¶ 3efe he fynde þ^e in anny wronge,
then meyst þou wyne his wreche. 104
- ¶ Witt a O & a I,
a flent wol make a slyde ;
- ¶ So gothe þ^e frendles þorowe þ^e toun,
no man bydyth hym a-byde. 108

Don't swear,

- ¶ Do3ttur, O þinge I þ^e for²-bede ;
vse not for² to swere ;
- ¶ keppe thy hondis, & geyfe no trevthe,
for weddynggis bythe in were ; 112
- ¶ He is a foll þat wyll be bonde
whyll he mey for²-bere.

or give pledges
hastily.
[leaf 138]

- A lowely lokynge & a porse
makys follys her and þere. 116
- ¶ Witt a O & a I,

Try before you
trust.

- a-say or² euer þow trust ;
- ¶ When dede is down, hit ys to lat ;
be ware of hady-wyst. 120

- ¶ Loke what woman þou wolt be,
and there-on set thy thow3t ;

Don't be fond
of slander,

- ¶ Tallis flatteryng nor² sclandorynge,
loke thowe loue hem now3t ; 124

and keep a
stedfast mind.

- ¶ A stydfast wett ys meche I-prevyde¹ [1 ? approved]
there womens wytt ys sow3t,
- ¶ And þer þat wette wanttythe longe,
full dere hit ys I-bow3t. 128

- ¶ Witt a O & a I,
men wyll sey so,

- ¶ “ 3efe þou þenke to do no syne,
do no þynge þat longythe there-to.” 132

- ¶ Yfe þou wylt no hosbonde have,
but where thy maydon croun,
¶ Ren not a-bout in eueri pley,
nor³ to tawern in toвне ; 136
¶ Syt sadly in þin arey ;
let mournynge be þ¹ gown ; [leaf 138, back]
¶ Byd þi priers spessyally
witt good devossyon, 140
¶ Witt a O & a I,
al day men mey see,
¶ “The tre crokothē son
þat good cambrel¹ wyll be.” 144
- ¶ Revle þ^e well in met & drenke,
doȝttur, it is nede ; Don't drink too
much or gorge.
¶ lechery, sclanderynge, & gret dyssese,
commythe of dronken hede ; 148
¶ Fatt mosellis & swett, makyth
mony on to begge there brede ;
¶ He þat spendyth more þen he gettythe,
a beggeris lyfe he schaff lede. 152
¶ Witt a O & a I,
seyd hit ys be southe,
¶ Wynttur ettyþ^e þat somer gettyþ,
to olde men is vnkoth[e]. 156
- ¶ Far-well douȝttur, far-well nowē ! Farewell,
I go vn-to my pylgremage ;
¶ kepe þ^e wel on my blessynge
tyl þou be more of a[ge], 160
¶ let no merth ner Iollyte
þis lesson frowe þ^e swage ;
¶ Then þou schalt have þ^e blys of heyvyn
to thy errytage. 164
¶ Witt a O & a I,
doȝttur, pray for me ;
¶ A schort prayer wynnythe heyvyn,
the patter noster and an ave . . Amen. 168

¹ From *cam*, crooked. Topsell uses *cambril* for the back of a horse (Halliwell).
“We allus gives 'em a little *gamber*, Sir,” said a Cambridge boat-builder to me
in 1844, when I complained that a funny he was making was not on a straight keel.

How þe Goode Wyfe tauzt hyr Douzter, quod Kate.

[Ashmole MS 61, leaf 7.]

Hear how the Good Wife taught her Daughter!	Lyst <i>and</i> lythe A lytell spæ, Y schaff þou telle A praty cace, How þ ^e gode wyfe tauzt hyr' douzter To mend hyr' lyfe, <i>and</i> make her' better. ¹	4
If you want to marry, serve God,	Douzter, <i>and</i> þou wylle be A wyfe, Wysely to wyrche, in All þ ⁱ lyfe :— Serue god, <i>and</i> kepe thy chyrche, And myche þ ^e better þou sh[alt] wyrche.	8
and don't let rain stop your going to church.	To go to þe chyrch, lette for no reyne, And þat schaff helpe þe in thy peyne.	
Pay your tithes,	Gladly loke þou pay thy tythes, Also thy offeringes loke þou not mysse ; Of pore men be þou not lothe,	12
and feed the poor.	bot gyff þou them both mete <i>and</i> clothe ; And to pore folke be þou not herde, Bot be to them thyñ owen stowarde ; For' where þat A gode stowerde is, Wantys seldome any ryches.	16
In church,	When þou arte in þ ^e chyrch, my chyld, loke þat þou be bothe meke <i>and</i> myld, And bydde þ ⁱ bedes. A-bouen alle thinge, With sybbe ne fremde make no Iangelynge.	20
pray, and don't chatter.		

¹ The original is not divided into stanzas.

- lauzhe þou to scorne noþer olde ne zonge ;
 Be of gode berynge *and* of gode tonge ;
 Yn thi gode berynge be-gymnes þⁱ worschype,
 My dere douzter, of þis take kepe.
- Yf any man profer þee to wede,
 A curtas ansuer to hym be seyde,
 And schew hym to thy frendes alle ;
 For any thing þat may be-fawle,
 Syt not by hym, ne stand þou nought
 Yn sych place þer synne may be wroght.
- What man þat þee doth wedde *with* rynges,
 loke þou hym loue A-bouen Alle thinge ;
 Yf þat it forteyne þus *with* the
 That he be wroth, *and* angery be,
 loke þou mekly ansuere hym,
 And meue hym noþer lyth ne lymme ;
 And þat schaff slake hym of hys mode ;
 Than schaff þou be hys derlynge gode :
 Fayre wordes wreth do slake ;
 Fayre wordes wreth schaff neuer make ;
 Ne fayre wordes brake neuer bone,
 Ne neuer schaff in no wone.
- Be fayre of semblant, my dere douzter,
 Change not þⁱ countenans *with* grete lauhter ;
 And wyse of maneres loke þou be gode,
 Ne for no tayle change þⁱ mode ;
- Ne fare not as þou A gyglot were,
 Ne lauze þou not low, be þou þer-of sore.
 luke þou also gape not to wyde,
 For Any thinge þat may be-tytde (*sic*).
- Suete of speche, loke þat thow be ;
 Trow in worde *and* dede : lerne þus of me.
- Scorn no one.
 24 Good behaviour
 wins honour.
- If a wooer comes,
 28 show him to
 your friends.
- 32
- Love your
 husband,
 and if he gets
 angry,
 36 don't answer
 him.
- 40 Fair words
 break no bones.
 44
- Keep a fair
 countenance ;
 48
- don't be giddy,
 or gape too wide.
 52
- Be sweet of
 speech.

- [leaf 7, back] Loke þou fle synne, vilony, *and* blame,¹
 And se þer be no man þat seys the Any schame. 56
- Don't toss your
 head about,
 and don't swear. When þou goys in þe gate, go not to faste,
 Ne hyderwerd ne thederward thi hede þou caste.
 No grete othes loke þou suere ;
 By ware, my douȝter, of syche A maner ! 60
- Don't go to
 market Go not as it wer A gase
 Fro house to house, to seke þe mase ;
 Ne go þou not to no merket
 To sell thi thryft ; be wer of itte. 64
- or taverns. Ne go þou nouȝt to þe tauerne,
 Thy godnes forto selle þer-Inne ;
 For'sake þou hym þat tauerne hanteht,
 And alle þe vices þat þer-Inne bethe. 68
- Don't drink
 too much. Wher'euer þou comme, at Ale *other*² wyne,
 Take not to myche, *and* leue be tyme ;
 For' mesure þer-Inne, it is no herme,
 And drounke to be, it is þⁱ schame. 72
- Don't go to
 cock-fights, Ne go þou not to no wrastlynge,
 Ne ȝit to no coke³ schetynge,
 As it wer a str[u]mpet oþer A gyglote,
 Or as A woman þat lyst to dote. 76
- but stay at home. Byde þou at home, my douȝter dere ;
 Thes poyntes at me I rede þou lere,
 And wyrke þⁱ werke at nede,
 All þ^e better þou may spede : 80
- Don't make
 friends with
 every man you
 meet. Y suere þee, douȝter, be heuen kynge,
 Mery it is of Althyngge.
 A-queynte þee not *with* euer[y] manþ
 þat Inne þe strete þou metys thanþ, 84

¹ MS blane.² MS o'.³ MS 'coke fyghtyng'; but 'fyghtyng' has four small dashes under it, as if it were intended to be erased.

- Thof he wold be Aqueynted *with* the ;
 Grete hym *curtasly*, *and* late hym be ;
 loke by hym not longe þou stond,
 That thorow no vylony þⁱ hert fond : 88
 Alle þ^e men be not trew
That fare speche to þee can schew.
 Fair talkers are
 not all true,
- For no couetys, no ȝiftys þou take ;
 Bot þou wyte why, sone them for^s-ake ; 92
 For gode women, *with* ȝyftes
 Me þer honour fro them lyftes,
 Thofe þat þei wer Añ trew
 As Any stele þat bereth hew ; 96
 For *with* ther' ȝiftes men þem ouer gone,
 Thof þei wer trew as ony stone ;
 Bounde þei be þat ȝiftys take,
 Ther-for thes ȝiftes þou for^s-ake. 100
- ¹ Yn oþer mens houses make þou no maystry,
 For drede no vylony to þee be spye.
 loke þou chyd no wordes bolde,
 To myssey noþer ȝonge ne olde ; 104
 For *and* þou any chyder be,
 Thy neyȝbors wylle speke þee vylony.
- ² Be þou not to enuyos,
 For drede thi neyȝbors wyll þee curse : 108
 Enuyos hert hym-selue fretys,
 And of gode werky[s] hym-selue lettys.
- ³ houswyfely wyll þou gone
 On werke deys in thine Awne wone. 112
 Pryde, rest, *and* ydell-schy[pe],⁴
 Fro þes werkes þou the kepe ;
- [leaf 8]
 Don't make a
 fuss in other
 people's houses,
 and don't chide.
- Work on work-
 days,

¹ See the first stanza (from the Trin. Coll. Camb. MS) in *Babees Book*, p. 42, note.

² This stanza is not in the *Babees-Book* copy.

³ l. 153, *Babees Book*, p. 43.

⁴ a d at end partly blotted out.

- and worship God
on holy days. And kepe þou welle thy holy dey,
And thy god worschype whe[n] þou may, 116
More for^r worschype than for^r pride;
And styfly in thy feyth þou byde.
- Don't ape ladies
with rich robes. ¹ loke þou were no ryche robys;
Ne coun^{ter}fyte þou no ladys; 120
For^r myche schame do them^r be-tyde
þat lese þer worschiþe thorow þer pride.
- Be a good
housewife, and
gentle. ² Be þou, douȝter, A hous-wyfe gode,
And euer-more of mylde mode. 124
Wysely loke thi hous And men-eȝe;
The beter to do þei schall be.
Women þat be of yueſt name,
Be ȝe not to-gedere in-same; 128
- Get work wanted,
done quickly. loke what moste nede is to done,
And sette þⁱ men[é] þer-to ryȝht sone:
That thinge þat is be-fore done dede,
Redy it is when þou ³ hast nede. 132
- When your
husband's away,
set your pople
to work. And if thy lord be fro home,
lat not thy men-eȝe I-dell gone;
And loke þou wele who do hys dede,
Quyte hym þer-after to his mede; 136
And þei þat wyll bot lytell do,
Ther'-after þou quite is mede also.
- If you've a heavy
job, go at one end
of it at once. A grete dede if þou haue to done,
At þ^e tone ende þou be ryȝht sone; 140
And if þat þou fynd any fawte,
Amend it sone, and tarye note:
Mych thyng be-houen them^r
þat gode housold schall kepyñ. 144
- Amend thy hous or þou haue nede,
For^r better after þou schaff spede;

¹ See the first stanza of the note, p. 45 of *Babees Book*.² See l. 102, p. 41, *Babees Book*.³ MS þou thow.

- And if þat thy nede be grete,
 And in þ^e country courne¹ be stryte, 148
 Make An hous-wyfe on thy-selue,
 Thy bred þou bake for^r hous-wyfy's helthe.
 Amonge þⁱ seruantes if þou stondyne,
 Thy werke it schall be soner^r done ; 152
 To helpe them sone þou sterte,
 For^r many handes make lyght werke.
- ² By-syde þee if thy neighbores thryue,
 Ther-fore þou make no stryfe ; 156
 Bot thanke god of all thi gode
 þat he sende þee to thy fode ;
 And þan thow schall lyue gode lyfe,
 And so to be A gode hous-wyfe. 160
 At es he lyues þat Awe[s] no dette ;
 Yt is no les, with-outen lette.
- ³ Syte not to longe vppe At euene,
 For drede with Ale þou be ouer-sene ; 164
 loke þou go to bede by tyme ;
 Erly to ryse is fysyke fyne.
 And so þou schalle be, my dere chyld,
 Be welle dysposed, both meke and myld, 168
 For all þer es may þei not haue,
 þat wyth thryue, and þer gode saue,
 you can't take
 your ease if
 you'll thrive.
- ⁴ And if it þus the be-tyde,
 þat frendes falle þee fro on euery syde, 172
 And god fro þee thi chyld take ;
 Thy wreke oñe god do þou not take,
 If friends fall
 away, or your
 child dies, don't
 abuse God.

¹ The Lambeth MS 853 in *Babees Book*, p. 41, l. 116, reads 'tyme.'

² See l. 146, p. 43 of *Babees Book*.

³ See the last stanza in the note, p. 44 of *Babees Book*.

⁴ This stanza is not in the Lambeth or Trin. Coll. Camb. MSS in the *Babees Book*.

	For ¹ thy-selue it wyll vn-do, And alle thes þat þee longes to : Many one for ¹ þer Awne foly Spyllys them-selue vn-thyftyly.	176
	¹ loke, douzter, no thing ¹ þou lese, Ne þ ⁱ housbond þou not desples.	180
Marry your daughters early :	And if þou haue A douzter of age, Pute heré sone to maryage ;	
girls are un- certain things.	Fore meydens, þei be lonely, And no thing ¹ syker ¹ þer-by	184
Don't borrow,	Borow þou not, if þat thou meye, For drede thi neybour wyll sey naye ; Ne take þou nouȝt to fyrste, Bot þou be Inne more bryste. ²	188
or spend other men's money.	Make þee not ryche of oþer mens thyng ¹ , þe bolder to spend be one ferthyng ¹ ; Borowyd thinge muste nedes go home, Yf þat þou wyll to heuen gone.	192
Pay servants when their work is done.	³ When þ ⁱ seruantes haue do þer werke, To pay þer hyre loke þou be smerte, Wheþer þei byde o ^r þei do wende : Thus schaff þou kepe þom euer þ ⁱ frende : And þus thi frendes wyll be glade þat thou dispos þe wyslye and sade.	196
This is what my mother taught me.	Now I haue tauȝht þee, my dere douzter, The same techynge I hade of my modour :	200
Forget it not!	Thinke þer-on both nyght and dey ; For-gette them not if þat þou may ; For A chyld vn-borne wer better Than be vn-taught, þus seys þe letter.	204

¹ See l. 193-201, p. 46 of *Babees Book*.² Corrupt. See l. 181-2, p. 45 of *Babees Book*, and the last stanza in the note.³ See l. 139, p. 43, *Babees Book*.

Ther³-for' aȝ-myȝhty god Inne trone,
Spede vs Alle, bothe euen *and* morne ;
And bringe vs to thy hyȝhe blysse,
That neuer more fro vs schaff mysse !

God speed and
save us all !

208

Amen, *quod* Kate.

[With a drawing of a fish (? a jack) and a flower underneath.
A fish is also drawn at bottom of leaf 7, back.]

How a Wyse Man taught his Sone,

quod Kate.

[Ashmole MS 61, leaf 6.]

Lordynges, *and* 3e wylle here
 How A wyse man tauȝt hys sone,
 Take god hede to þis matere,
 And fynd ¹ to lerne it yff 3e canne. 4
 þis songe for 3onge men was be-gone,
 To make them trew *and* stedfaste ;
 For 3erne þat is euylle spone,
 Euylle it comes out at þ^e laste. 8

 Yt was A wyse man had A chyld
 Was fully xv wynter of Age,
 Of maneres he was meke *and* myld,
 Gentyll of body *and* of vsage ² ; 12
 By-cause he was his faderes Ayere,
 His fader þus on þis langage
 Tauȝt his sone wele *and* feyre,
 Gentyll of kynd *and* of corage, 16

 And seyð, “sone, haue þis word in herte,
 And thynke þer-on when I ame dede,
 Euery dey þe fyrst werke,
 loke it be done in euery stede, 20
 Go se þⁱ god in forme of brede,
 And thanke þⁱ god of his godnesse ;
 And after-ward, sone, be my rede
 Go do þⁱ werldes besy¹ness ; 24

[¹ fond, *try*.]

This Song is to
make young men
true and stedfast.

A wyse man had
a son of 15,

[² ? visage.]

and taught him
thus :

“Go daily first to
Mass ;

then to business ;

Bot fyrst worseype god on þe dey,

And þou wyll haue to þⁱ mede ;

Skyllfully, what þou wyllt praye,

He wylle þe send *with-ou*ten drede,

and your reason-
able prayers will
be granted.

And send þe all þat thou hast nede.

Als ferre as mesure wyllt destreche,

luke, mesurly thy lyfe þou lede,

And of þ^e remynant þer þe not reche.

32

And, son, þⁱ tonge þou kepe Al-so,

Hold your tongue.

¶ And tell not all thynges þat þou maye,

For þⁱ tonge may be thy fo ;

þer-fo^r, my sone, thynke what I sey,

36

Where *and* when þat thou schall praye,

And be whome þat thou seyst^t owht ;

For þou may sey A word to-dey,

That vij ȝere after may be for^t-thouȝht.

7 years hence you
may repent a
hasty word.

40

With loue *and* Awe þⁱ wyfe þou chastys,

And late feyre wordes be þⁱ ȝerd^l ;

For Awe, it is þ^e best gyse

Forto make þⁱ wyfe Aferd^l.

44

Sone, þⁱ wyfe þou schall not chyde,

Nē caule he[r] by no vylons name ;

Don't chide or
abuse your wife :

For sche þat schall ly by thy syde,

To calle hyr wykyd, it is thy schame.

48

When þou schalt thy wyfe defame,

Wele may An oþer man do so ;

[leaf 6, back]

Bot, sofer^e-*and*¹, A man may tame

hert *and* hynd, *and* þe wylde ro.

Patience 'll
tame wild
animals.

52

Sone, be þou not gelos by no wey,

For if þou falle in gelosye,

Don't be jealous,

late not þⁱ wyfe wyte be no weye ;

For þou mayst do no more folye :

56

¹ suffering

for if your wife
sees it,

For if thi wyfe myȝht ons A-spye
þat thou to her wold not tryste,

she 'll pay you
out.

Yn spy[t]e of All þⁱ fantysye,

To wreke hyr werst, þat is herre lyste.

60

Pay your tithes,
and give to the
poor.

Sone, vnto þⁱ god pay welle þⁱ tythe,

And pore men of thy gode þou dele.

Stand stiff against
the devil.

Ageyn þe deuell be stronge and styfe,

And helpe þⁱ soule fro peyne of helle ;

64

Thys werlde is bote fantesye fele,

And dey by dey it wyll A-pare ;

þer-fore be[ware] þe werldes wele ;

Yt farys as A chery feyre.

68

Men gather goods

Many man here gederes gode

All hys lyfe tyme for odour mene,

þat he may not—be the rode—

Not A² tyme to ete A hene.

72

for another, when
they die,

When he is doluen in his den,

An oper schall comme at þ^e last ende,

And haue hys wyfe and catell than ;

to spend.

þat he has sparyd, An oper wyll spende.

76

For all þat euer A man doth here

With bysenes and trauell bothe.

All þis is, with-uten were,

Not bot for mete and drynke and clothe ;

80

Men can but get
food and clothes,

More getes he not, with-uten hothe :

Kyng ne prince, wheþer he be,

Be he lefe o^r be he lothe,

be they poor
or rich ;

A pore man schall haue als mych as he.

84

þer-for, sone, be my counselle,

More þan I-nowȝhe þou neuer couete ;

therefore don't
covet more than
enough,

Thou wotyste not when deth wyll þee A-saylle ;

þis werld is bot deth and debate.

88

¹ MS y

² have

loke þou be not to hyze of state.

By ryches here sette þou no price,
For þis werlde is full of deseit ;

Ther-for purchasse¹ paradyce ;
For deth, my chyld, is, as Y trow,

The most ryȝht serteyn [thing] it is ;
No thing^a so vn-serteyne to vn-know

As is þe tyme of deth I-wys ;

92

for nothing is so
certain as Death,

tho' its time is
uncertain.

96

And per-for, soñe, thinke oñe thys,

And all þat I haue seyð be-forne ;

And Ihesu brynge vs to his blysse,

The chyld þat w[as] in bedleme borne.

Jesu, save us !”

100

Amen, quod Kate.

[With a drawing of a fish underneath.]

¹ MS Ther purchasse for

Stans puer ad mensam,¹

quod Kate.

(According to Grostete and Doctor Palere, 1463-83 A.D.)

[*Ashmole MS 61, leaf 17, back*]

- Christ, **I**hesus cryste, þat dyed vpon A tree
 To bye mans saule þat ons was for^lorn,
 Helpe þem wele in All þer degre
 That doth euer ryght be-hynd *and* be-forw! 4
- give us grace And gyffe me grace þat I may so teche
 That some man þer-for þ^e better maye be,
 to teach children And to be to chylder A bodely leche,
 to flee vice! And euer-more Alle vyces þei may fere *and* Fle! 8
- To teach them To teche chylder *curtasy* is myne entent,
 courtesy is my And þus forth my proces I purpos to be-gynne;
 intent. The trinyte me sped, *and* gode seynt clement,
 Yn what countrey þat euer y be Inne! 12
- The child þat euer thinkes þat he wold thryue o^r the,
 My counsell in þis to hym þat he take;
 And euer-more *curtayse* luke þat he be,
 And euer all evylle vices to fle *and* for^s-sake. 16
- Courtesy is sure The child þat is *curtas*, be he pore or ryche,
 to pay. Yt schall hym A-vaylle, þer-off haue no drede,
 And euer to hym-selue forto be A leche,
 When he is in quarel or Any oþer nede. 20

¹ There is no title in the MS.

And iff he be vicious, *and* no thing^t will lerne, A vicious child

[illegible]

To fader *and* to modour be statly *and* sterne, 23 never thrives;

He may neuer thryffe well, fore no thing^t þat he canne.

Ne no man) off hym reiosynge witt haue,

no one likes him ;
and he gets called
knave ;

Yn what lond of crysdome þat he commys Inne,

Bot oft-tymes rebukyd, *and* be callyd knaue,

Ne neuer is Abutt worschippe to wyinne. 28

Ther-for þis scryptour, my sone, iff þou rede, therefore

And thinke in þⁱ selue þat þou wold^t be a man),

Vn-to syche poyntes I rede þou take hede attend to me.

As þou schall here-after rede iff þou canne. 32

And labour thi-selue while þou arte yonge,

Work while you're
young,

For' þou schalt be more *perfyte*, when þou arte of Age,

To helpe þⁱ selue þ^e better with hond *and* with tonge and learn to help
yourself.

Than he þat lernes no thing^t bot to pley *and* rage : 36

The sothe treuly thi-selue þou may see

By experience, by many in the world.

bat Are vnthrifty, ne no tyme will the,

How þei¹ be trobyles, *and* oft-tymes ille horlde. 40

Ther'-for' pis doctrine to pee² I rede pou take,

To occupy *and* vse bothe by dey *and* nyght;

Neuer no maystrys I rede þat thou make,

Never act against
reason and right.

þe which be contrary A-zen reson *and* ryght. 44

Now chyld, take gode hede what þat I wyll sey ;

My doctryne to þee I purpos to be-gyne ;

Hearken to my
teaching !

Herkynd well *per-to*, *and* go not Away 47

Goddes grace be with vs now *and* euer-more. Amen!

My dere child, fyrst þ' selue þou vn-Abulle

With all þⁱ herte to vertuous disciplyne,—

Afore þⁱ soueryn), standyng^t at þ^e tabulle—

Before your
master,

Dispos þⁱ 3outhē *After* my doctryne, 52

¹ MS þⁱ, the same as for 'thy.' ² MS þ^e, the same as for 'the.'

- [leaf 18] To Alȝ nurtour þⁱ enrage þou enclýne.
 don't speak reck- Fyrst, when þou spekys, luke þou be not rekles,
 lessly; Be-hold to þⁱ souereyn in þ^e face with they eyene,
 and don't fidget. Kepe fete *and* fyngers *and* hondes styȝt in pese. 56
- Don't stare about, Be sympyȝt of chere, caste not þⁱ luke off syde,
 Gase not A-boute, turnyngⁱ thy hede ouer Alle;
 or stick your back to a post. Ageyn the post luke not þⁱ bake A-byde;
 Make not þ^e myrroure Also off þ^e walle; 60
- Don't pick your nose, Pyke not þⁱ nose All-so in espeeçalle,
 Be ryȝt wele wer, *and* sette þer-vn þⁱ thought,
 or scratch yourself. Crache not þⁱ fleche for' ouȝt þat may be-falle, 63
 Hede *and* hond, ne oþer thinge þat is vpon þee wrought.
- Don't look on the ground when a man speaks to you. To þe erth þou luke not when Any man spekes to þee,
 Bot be-hold vn-to his face; take gode tente þer-to.
 Go pesably by þ^e wey, wer-so-euer it be, 67
 That no man vex þee in Iorney wer þou schalle gone.
 Change not þⁱ colour by no maner wyse,
 les þou be prouyd gylty in All þⁱ mysdede;
 Mock no one. Moke not, ne scorne not, noþer man ne wyfe,
 Ne no noþer person; þer-to þou take gode hede. 72
- Wash your hands before eating. Ete þou not mete with þⁱ vn-wasche hondes,
 For' dred of mych¹ hurte þat may come þer-bye;
 Don't sit till you're told. Ne syte not vn-byden wer-so-euer þou stondes,
 lesse þ^e pepyȝt sey þou canne no curtasye. 76
 Take A-boffe þee thii better whe[n] þou schafft sytte,
 Els folke wyȝt sey þat thou canne no gode.
 When grace is said, doff your hood. Take þou no mete (be welle wer off itte)
 Vnto grace be seyð, *and* þer-to veylle þⁱ hode. 80
- Don't eat too hastily. When þou etys þⁱ mete, be not to hasty,
 (Be weȝt wer þer-of) be it befe o^r motow,
 Or Any oþer metys, oþer pye or pastye,
 leste þou be callyd els both cherle or gloton. 84

¹ MS nych.

- When þou has done *with* A dysch, calle it not A-geyn, Don't ask for a dish twice.
 For' þat is no *curtassy* ; þer-offe þou take gode hede.
 What-so-euer þou be *seruyd*, loke þou be feyn,
 For' els þou may want' it when þou hast nede. 88
- Reuyle þou no *metes*, what-so-euer it be, Don't abuse the food you're going to eat.
 Yff' þou *purpos* After-ward of it forto ete ;
 Fro Alle sych *vncurtasnes* I rede þat þou fle ;
 And euer to be *curtas*, þⁱ hert þer-in þou sette. 92
 Kepe þⁱ spone cle[ne] from All maner of fylthe ;
 longe In thi dysch late it not A-byde. Keep your spoon clean.
 Be *wer* wele þer-of, þat þou no thyngⁱ spyllleth,
 That þei do not moke þee þat standes þe be-syde. 96 Spill nothing.
- luke þⁱ hondes be clene when þou etys þⁱ mete ; Have clean hands.
 Pare clene þⁱ nayles for' ought þat may be,
 Make þem chere *curtasly* þat by the do sytte,
 And kepe wele þⁱ couñtenans, for' þat is *curtasy*. 100 Make yourself agreeable.
 Dele not þⁱ mete A-wey, bot if þou haue leue,
 Yff' þou sytte *with* Any man þat may be þⁱ better,
 For' els þou may þer-for' haue A grete repreue : Don't give away your food, except by leave,
 þus seys *grossum caput*, in doctrine of letter. 104 says Grostete.
- When þou etys þⁱ mete, take gode hede of þis [leaf 18, back]
 Yn þ^e o syde of thi mouthe ete þou thi mete, Fill only one cheek at a time,
 That both þin chekys be not full at ons,
 For' þat is no *curtassy*, and so þou schall fynde itte.
 When mete is in thi mo[u]th, lauzhe þou ryght nought, and don't speak when your mouth's full.
 Ne speke þou to no man in syche tyme,
 For' drede þat thy mete oute off' þⁱ mouth be brought,
 And lepe Inne þⁱ dyssche *with* Ale o^r *with* wyne. 112
- kytte þou no mete—þer-offe take þou gode tente— Empty your trencher before taking a second help.
 When mete is on þⁱ trenchere vn-eten' some dele.
 Ne moke þou no man þat at þ^e bord is lente, 115
 For' drede þat mysfortune sone After may þee spyлле.
 Yf þat þou wyllt off' *nourtyre*, my sone, be-fore,
 Sette þou no dysche neuer oñe þⁱ trenchere.

Make no noise
when you sup
your broth.

Wipe your mouth
when you drink.

When þou sowpys þⁱ potage—be wele wer offⁱ þis—
Make no grete sownð in suppyng of þⁱ dysche ; 120
And wpe wele þⁱ mowth when þou drynke schalle take,
Ne no thyng^r hafe þer-Inne þat may do A-mysse ;
For iff^r Any mete þⁱ mowth be with-Inne,
When þou schuld^r drynke of coppe or off^r canne, 124
Sum wyll^r drinke, be it thyke or thynne,—
Than schaff^r þou be mokyd both off^r wyff^r and manl.

Don't spit over
the table ;
[1 ? MS spytle.]

or pick your teeth
till you've done.

When þou syttes at þ^e tabull, þis is curtasy,
Ouer þⁱ tabull luke þou not spytle,¹ 128
les[t] it falle on^r mete þat stondes þee by,
For þat is A cherles dede, who so doth^r it.
Pyke not þⁱ tethe—þer-off^r be þou were—
Tyll þat thow haue etyne All þat thow wyll^r, 132
Ne noy not þⁱ felew—off^r þat loke þou spere—
Drynke salt ne potage, þer-off^r none þou sp[i]lle.

Don't sleep or
doze at meals.

Keep your nose
clean, and don't
forswear your-
self.

Blow not in þⁱ dyssche, be it mete or drynke,
For þat is no curtasy, þer-off^r take þou tente ; 136
Ne when þou Arte at Any mete, noþer slepe ne wynke :
For mokyng^e of pepull where þat þou arte lente.
Kepe clene þⁱ nose with napkyn and clote,
That no fylthe be sene þat schuld þee dyshonour. 140
Ne swere þou to no man^r A for-suorne othe,
For þat schaff^r be repreue, and to þee non honour.

At meals, don't
play with a dog
or cat.

Don't dip your
meat in the salt-
cellar.

That's not
courtesy, says
Dr Paler.

Pley þou not with A dogge ne 3it with A cate
Be-fore þⁱ better at þ^e tabull, ne be syde ; 144
For it is no curtasy—be þou sure of þat—
In what place of crystendome þat þou dwelle o^r byde.
When þou etys þⁱ mete,—of þis þou take hede—
Touche not þ^e salte beyng^r in þⁱ salt-saler^r, 148
Ne with flesch ne fyssche with oþer mete ne brede,
For þat is no curtassy : so seys doctour paler^r.
ley salt on þⁱ trenchere with knyfe þat be clene ;
Not to myche, be þou were, for þat is not gode, 152

That all maner of curtassy of þee may be sene ;
 And euer to þⁱ better luke þou A-veylle þⁱ hode.
 Yff þou wasche with A better mane than þⁱ selfe Arte, [leaf 19]
 Spytt^t not on thy hondes—þer-of take gode hede— Don't spit on
 And be þou not to crueh, at no tyme ouer perte ; 157 your hands, or be
 The better þou schaff lyke when þou hast nede. too pert.

Preeys not to hye where þⁱ better is, Don't press up too
 Bot stond lawly on þⁱ fete be-fore thi hey tabulle ; 160 high at table.
 And loke þou be seruys-Abuht at euery mese
 And Iangelle not to moch for' makyng^t off^t A fabulle. Don't chatter too
 Take hede of one thing^t þat I wyh þe seye, much,
 For' it is gret curtasy, and schaff to þee A-veyle : 164
 Out off^t no mans mouth—for' bere it if þou may— or take a tale out
 To take Any comenyng o^r zit Any tale. of a man's
 mouth.

Com not to counseht bot if^t þou be callyd, [1 MS it.]
 For' dred of repreue, wer as euer þou gos ; 168
 Ne neuer moke non old man, thofe he be old, Don't mock old
 For' sych vn-curtasy may cause þee to haue foys.² men.
 When þou hast^t dyned, be redy taryse [2 foes.]
 Some-what or þⁱ beter, for' þat is curtasy ; 172
 And els þⁱ souerand he wyht þee dyspise,
 And think^t þat þou arte prowd, and bere þi-selue to hy.

Crombys A-boute þⁱ trencher^t, luke þat þou leue none, Clean crumbs off
 Bot clens þem A-wey with þⁱ knyfe þat be clene. 176 your trencher
 Obeysens þou make o^r þou ferther gone, with your knife.
 That alle þat sytes at þ^e tabull þⁱ curtasy may sene. Bow to all before
 Yff þou haue A fader þat be of lyfe here, you leave.
 Honour hym with wyschype,—my counsell I þee Honour your
 And also þⁱ modour þat is thi faderes fere. [gyffe,— and mother.
 And euer-more after þ^e better þou schaff fare ;

And iffe þou rebukes þem oþer in word o^r dede, If you set not by
 And to be presumptos, and set þem not bye, 184 them,
 þou schall neuer thryue when þat þou hast^t nede, you shall never
 Ne zit kepe þ^e statutes off^t þⁱ curtasye. thrive.

Don't put your
elbows too far on
the table,

Thy elbow *and* armys haue in thi thougt ;
To fere on þⁱ tabulle do them not ley. 188
To mych mete at ons in þⁱ mouth be not brouzt,
For^t than þou art not curtas, þⁱ better wyлле seye.

or wear laced
sleeves,

Kepe wele þⁱ sleuys for^t touchyng^t off^t mete,
Ne no longe sleuys lasyd ¹ luke þat þou haue. 192
Kepe wele þⁱ k[n]yufe for^t castyng^t vnder fete ;
The more lawde of peple I wote þou schaff haue.

Keep your better
on your right
hand;

Euer on þi ryght hond take þou thy better^t,
Where þat euer þou go, be wey o^r by strete. 196
And iff^t þou se Any man^t be redyng of A letter,
Come not to nyze hym, for^t dred^t of rehetē.

¹ The mention of these laced sleeves fixes the date of this poem to Edward IV.'s reign, 1461-83. See drawings of the laced sleeves on the left-hand figure on p. 154, and the right-hand one on p. 159, of Fairholt's *History of Costume in England*. The former, of 'a dandy of the period,' 'is copied from a curious painting which formerly existed on the walls of the Hungerford Chapel, Salisbury Cathedral, but which is now destroyed : it has been engraved in Gough's "Sepulchral Monuments." . . His sleeves are large, and open at the sides, to display the shirt beneath, which is loose, and projects from between the *lacings* of the opening. In some instances we find the sleeves slit immediately above and beneath the elbow, with a narrow piece of cloth to cover it, the whole being held together by wide *lacing*, leaving some inches' space between each portion of the sleeve, which is padded at the shoulders with wadding, to give a broad appearance to the chest : these sleeves [that is, 'bolsters or stuffing of wool, cotton, &c.'] were, by a law of the third year of Edward [the Fourth]'s reign [A.D. 1463] prohibited to be worn by any yeoman or person under that degree, under a penalty of six and eightpence, and 20s. fine for the tailor who manufactured them.'—*Fairholt*, p. 154-5. The Statute of Edw. IV. says : "And also he [the King] hath ordained and established, That no Yeoman, nor none other Person under the same Degree, from the said Feast of Saint Peter called *ad vincula*, which shall be in the Year of our Lord MCCCC lxx. shall use nor wear in Array for his Body, any Bolsters nor stuffing of Wool, Cotton, nor Cadās, nor any stuffing in his Doublet, nor only Lining according to the same ; upon Pain to forfeit to the King's Use for every such Default Six Shillings and Eight-Pence. Also our said Sovereign Lord the King, by the Advice and assent aforesaid, hath ordained and established, That no Knight under the Estate of a Lord, Esquire, Gentleman, nor none other person, shall use or wear from the Feast of All Saints, which shall be in the Year of our Lord MCCCC lxx. any Gown, Jacket, or Coat, unless it be of such Length that the same may cover his privy Members and Buttocks ; upon Pain to forfeit to the King for every default Twenty Shillings. Also by the Assent aforesaid it is ordained, That no Taylor after the said Feast shall make to any Person, any Gown, Jacket, or Coat, of less Length, or Doublet stuffed, contrary to the Premises, upon the same Pain for every Default."—3 Edw. IV. cap. 5. A.D. 1463.

And iff þou go *with* Any man In felde oʳ in towne, give the wall side
Be wall oʳ by hege, by pales oʳ by pale, 200 to all you meet,

Be wall oʳ by hege, by pales oʳ by pale, 200
To go *with*-oute hym luke þou be bowne,

And take hym by-twyx þee and þat same walle ;
 And if þou mete hym, luke þou be sure
 þat thou go with-oute hym, and leue hym nexte þe
 walle.

204

And iff ʒe schuld entere in at Any dore,
Putt be-fore þee þⁱ better, for' ouzte þat may be-falle.

and let your
better enter first.

Stare not on A strange man to mych, be þou ware, [leaf 19, back]
 For þat is no *curtassy*, þer-to þou take gode hede ; 208 Don't stare too
 hard at strangers,

Ne speke not to mych,—*pus* seys doctour paler',—or talk too much,
says Dr. Paler.

Bot iff it be in þⁱ pater noster, þⁱ Aue *and* þⁱ crede.
 And þou passe be-fore A man, wer-so-euer it be,
 At fyre o^r in oþer place, luke þou aske leue ; 212
 And euer thinke on worschype *and* thy oneste,
 And kepe þee euer fro rebuke *and* All maner repreue

And if þat it fortē so by nyght oʀ Any tyme
 That þou schalt lye with Any man þat is better þan
 thou,

Let your better
 choose which side
 of the bed he'll
 lie on ;

216

Spyre hym what syde of þ^e bedd þat most best wyth
ples hym,

And lye þou on þi toþer syde, for þat is for þi
prow ;

Ne go þou not to bede before bot þ' better cause þe, don't go to bed
For þat is no curtesy, þus seys doctour paler'. first, till he asks
you to.

Hose *and* schone to powle off, loke þou redy be, (says Dr Paler.)
 And oþer gere þat to hym langes, for þou may fare þe and first pull off
 better. his hose, shoes,
 &c.

[illegible]

When 3e haue talkyd what 3e wyll, byd hym gode and say 'Good
nyght in hye, night' when
you've done your

For þat is gret curtesy, so schaff þou vnderstond.

Next morning,
wish your fellow
'Good morrow'
tho' he's asleep.

Yf þou ryse be-fore At morow, take gode hede of þis,
Byð hym gode morow oʀ þou go, thof þat he be on
slepe; 228

Ne do no thinge in þat hous þat schuld be A-mysse,
Bot euer-more all curtesy I rede to þee þou kepe.

Anoþur thing^t at þⁱ table, for^t soth I wyll þee telle,
That is gret curtesy,—þus seys doctour paler^t,— 232

Don't put your
knife in your
mouth, says
Dr Paler,

On þi tabulle kepe þⁱ k[nyf]¹—luke þou befelle—
When þou putes mete in þⁱ mouthe, for^t þat is þⁱ be-
hauour.

or speak to your
better, when he is
drinking.

And if þou be in Any place wer þⁱ better is drynkyng,
So þat þe coppe be at his hede, odour with Ale or wyne,
Doctour paler^t seys þee þus, and byddes þee sey no-
thing, 237

For^t brekyng^t of þⁱ curtesy in syche A curtas tyme.

When your lord
washes, don't
forget his basin
and towel.

And if þou be in Any plas wer þⁱ souerand schall
wessche,

luke þou be redy Anonⁿ with water in some vessell, 240
For^t-gete not þe towell, noþer for hard ne nessche,

For^t þat is grete curtesy, þ^e soth I do þee telle.
Off All maner of thinges, one I wyll þee schew :
Neuer with Any rebaudry do not fyle þⁱ mouthe, 244
For^t þat is no curtesy ; þou schall fynde it trew,
Wher^t þou go, est or weste, oþer north oʀ southe.

Never defile your
mouth with
ribaldry.

If your lord want
to drink at nght,

And if þin souereynⁿ drinkyng be in þe tyme of nyght,
Yf þou be standing^t in þⁱ hous, oʀ syting^t in Any syde,
Take A candell in þⁱ hond Anonⁿ, and hold hym lyght ;
To he haue drownkynⁿ what he wyll, styll by hym þou
byde. 250

hold a candle for
him till he has
done.

Amen, quod Kate.

[With a sketch of a flower underneath, and a fish at the
bottom of leaf 18, back.]

¹ blotted out.

The Abce of Aristotill.

[*Harl. MS 1304, leaf 103 ; ab. 1450 A.D.*]

Wo-so wil be wise, And worshipe desireth,
 Lett hym^l lerne on^l letter, And loke on^l A-noper
 Of Abce of Aristotill : non^l Argument Ageyn^l þat :
 And it is cowncell to clerkis & knyghtis a thousand^l ; 4
 Yutt it myte A man¹ Amend^l ful ofte,
 The lernynge of on^l letter, And his lif safe.
 Blame not Beerne þat the Abce made,
 But the wikkid^l wilþ And the werke After ; 8
 For it shaft greve A good man^l, þow gilty be mendyð,
 Now herkeneth And hereth how þat I begynne :

Attemperance in Alle thyng, Afte-myghty god loueth ;
 Better^l howe þan^l breke ; obey to þⁱ bettere ; 12
 Care for þⁱ Conscience, & kepe it ai clene ;
 Dred god, And do well ; þan nede þ^e not Dowte ;
 Ese þine enen^l cristen^l ; euer thynke on^l þⁱne ende ;
 Fle falsnes And foli ; And for thi feith fight ; 16
 Gete god þⁱ gouernour, And grace shaft the grete ;
 Halow þⁱ holi day, And heuen^l I the hote,
 In^l Ioye with owre Iustice, Ihesu so gentill.
 Kynge, keysere, And knyght, are knytte for to ke[pe] 20
 Lawes of owre lord god : bothe lewid And lerid,
 Mangnifie his mageste þat most is of myght.
 Norshe nott þⁱ nature to nyce- l
 for no thyng ;

¹ MS men man.

On god Allonli euer haue in þⁱ thought ; 24
 Preise prestis And prechours þat pray for the people ; [leaf 103 b.]
 Quenche fals quere^lour ; þ^e quen^e of heven þ^e with quite ;
 Rewle wel þⁱ Regalli, as right is And Reson ;
 See to thi sogettis, and sei þem hure sothes ; 28
 Temper hure tongis fro tellynge of talis ;
 Voide vices ; vertues sha^{ll} vaunce vs a^{ll} :
 þus Rede we in bokys And Rollis A-bowte.

Thus god þat is begynnere & former of alle thyng, 32
 In nombere, weyg^{ht}it, & mesure, alle þis world wrought he ;
 And mesure he taughte us in alle his wise werkⁱs,
 Ensample by the extremit^ees þat vicious Arn Euer.
 A Coward, And Contacowre, manhod is þ^e mene ; 36
 A wrecche, And wastour, mesure is be-twene ;
 For to moche of on¹ thyng was neuer holsome.

Be not to Amerows, to Auenturous, ne Angur not to ofte ;
 Be not to bolde, to besi, ne bowrde not to brode ;
 Be not to cursed, to crue^{ll},² And care not to sore ;
 Be not to Du^{ll}e, ne to Dredfu^{ll}, & Drink not to moche ; 4
 Be not to elenge, to Excellent, ne to erneful no^per ;
 Be not to fers, to familar, but frendli of chere ;
 Be not to Glosynge, ne to gelous, gay, & gape not to wide ;
 Be not to hasti, to hardi, ne to heuy in harte, 8
 Be not to Iettyng^e, to Iangelyng^e, ne Iape not to ofte ;
 Be not to kynde, to kepyng^e, & ware knaues tacches ;
³ Be not to lothe, to lovyng^e, ne to liberall of goodys ;
 Be not to mellous, to meri, but as mene askith ; 12
 Be not to noyows, to nyce, ne to newfangle ;
 Be not to orped, to overthwarte, & op^{us} ⁴ þou hate ;
 Be not to pressing, ne to preuy with princes ne with Dukys ;

¹ MS on¹ on¹.

² ? MS couet^{ll}.

³ These lines to the end are in a later hand, Peter Le Neve's. He has written in the margin : ' M^d this was on the other leaf, but I took it out & writt it here. Peter Le Neve 1695.'

⁴ MS first written 'opus.'

Be not to queynte, to querellous; queme¹ wiſt y^e maystri; 16
Be not to Riatous, to revelling, ne rage not to ofte;
Be not to sadde, to sorry, ne sight not to deep;
Be not to toyllous, to talewise, for temperance it hatyth;
Be not to venomous, to vengeable, ne wast not to moche; 20
for a mesurable mene is best for vs alle. Explicit.

¹ MS ? querne.

The MS, Harl. 1304, up to leaf 99, contains Lydgate's *Life of the Virgin Mary*. Leaf 100 begins the "*Questiones by-twene the Maister of Oxenford and his Clerke*"; and leaf 103 contains the *Abce* above, and finishes the MS.

Proverbs of Good Counsel.

[*Harl. MS 2252, leaf 3.*]

PROVERBUS.

Be charitable to
the needy ;

At owur begynny[n]ge, god be owur spede

In grace & vertue to prosede !

Be petuus & eke merciabyH ;

To nedy folke be CherytabyH.

4

A man with-owte merey, of mereye shall mys ;

& he shaH haue mercy þat mercifuH ys.

By mereye & mekenes all thyng chevythe,

by foly & hate, Aȝ wysdom¹ Remevythe.

8

The beste wysdom þat I Can,

do well, and fear
no man.

ys to doe weH, & drede no man.

He þat yn yowþ^e no vertue wyll vse,

In Age aȝ honour wyH hym Refuse.

12

Spendȝ no manus good in vayne,

For borowurdȝ thyng wyll home Agayne.

Give true weight.

gyve thow trewe weyghte, mete, & measure,

And thenȝ shall grace with the Indure.

16

Be not to boldȝ for to blame,

leste þou be foundȝ in the same ;

And yff onȝ party woldȝ fayne be Awreke,

Hear both sides.

yet manȝ of Ryghte here þ^e toȝer party speke.

20

over þⁱ heȝ loke thowe never hewe ;

poverte hathe but frendis fewe.

¹ This *m* is generally used for the old *mer* ; but here it is used for a curly-tailed *m*, and the mark of contraction has no value, I think.

- Whoo-so of welthe takythe no hede,
 he shall fynde fawte In tyme of nede. 24
 þis world ys mytabyH, so saythe sage,
 þerfor gader or thow fall in Age.
 Kepe not þⁱ trespure aye Closyd in mew ;
 suche old trespure wyll þ^e shame ynowe. 28
 whate prophytis plente & grete trespure,
 & in povertē A wreche Alway to endure ?
 Man, sobyrlly þⁱ howse begyn,
 & spende nomore then þou mayste wyn, 32
 for A nyse wyfe, & A backe dore,
 Makyth oftyr tymus A ryche man pore.
 Wysdom stondyth not all by speche ;
 A wyfull shrew can noman teche. 36
 he hathe wysdom at hys wyll
 þat can with Angry harte be styll.
¹lett never þⁱ wyH þⁱ wytt over-lede ;
 whate man þou serue, Alway hym drede,
 and hys good as þⁱne Awne spare ;
 be lowly & seruysabyH, & love hys welfare.
 And yf þou wylte be owt of sorow & care,
 hyt ys to kepe & Refrayne þⁱ Tonge,
 for þis lernyth Chyldren when they be yonge.
 [.]
²& ever in welth be ware of woo,
 Son, yf þou wyste whate thyng hyt were, 48
 Comynge to lerne, & with þ^e to bere,
 Thow wold not myspend on howre ;
 for of all Trespure, Conny[n]ge ys flowur.
 yf þou wylte leve in peas & Reste, 52
 here, & see, & sey the beste.
 where ever þou be, in bowur or haH,
 be mery, honeste, & lyberaH.
 Beware, my son, ever of ' had-I-wyste ' ; 56

Earn money in
your youth,

but don't be a
miser

A foolish wife and
a back door pooren
a man.

40 Be true and
humble to your
master.

44 Bridle your
tongue.

Misspend not
an hour.
Get Knowledge,
the flower of all
treasures.

Be merry and
liberal.

¹ This line is put two lower in the MS.

² This line is put one lower in the MS.

	hard ys to know whom on may trust[e] ; A tr[u]sty frende ys hard to fynde, none ys more foo þen on vnkynnd[e].	
Don't be too anxious about anything.	Care not to myche for ony thyng, Thowghte wyll þ ^e sone to erþ ^e brynge. serve god weH, & haue no drede, he wyll þ ^e helpe in tyme of nede ; drede owur lord god boþ ^e nyght & day,	60 64
Don't swear.	Swere none othys in ernyste or pley ; for who so dothe,—scurypture sayth soo,— þ ^e plage from hys howse shaH not go.	
Pray to God every dawn.	Erly in the dawns[n]ge of þ ^e day, my son, to god loke þat þou praye ; & ever haue in þ ⁱ memory for to seke hevyn moste besyly.	68
Choose good companions :	Acompany with them þat be oneste, and they wyll reporte of þ ^e þ ^e beste, As for þis proverbe dothe specify,	72
" Like will to like."	" lyke wyll to lyke in eche company." grace & good maners makyþ ^e A man ; woo may he be þat no good Can !	76
Virtue and Knowledge are better than Riches. Don't be moody.	Better ys to have vertu & Connyng, þan to be lewde with Ryches of A kyng. hevy of þ ⁱ herte loke þou not be ; let honeste Company Comfort the. yf þou be trobyllyd with ynconvenyens, arme þ ^e alway with Inward pacyens ;	80
Associate with the wise.	Invre þ ^e with them þat byn wyse, then to Ryches thow shalt Aryse.	84

How to rule one's Self and one's House.

[*Harl. MS 787*,¹ leaf 9.]

Temperance.

- 1 Be humble in thyne owne sight.
- 2 Mistrust thyne owne judgment.
- 3 Be in gesture & behauiour comely ;
- 4 In Apparell, neyther curious nor costly.
- 5 Thinke nothing uncomly which is honest, for nothing is comely that is not honest.
- 6 Be temperate in dyett.
- 7 Be moderate & honest in Expences.
- 8 Be neuer idle, but euer well busied.
- 9 Remember how precious a thing tyme is, & spend it thereafter.
- 10 Liue within thy compass.
- 11 Exceed in nothinge.
- 12 Be spare of wordes.
- 13 In serious things, thinke first, and speake after.
- 14 Speake well of all, euill of none.
- 15 Speak neuer uainly.
- 16 Speake neuer untruly.

Domus.

Seeke thy wife for uertue onely.
 Seeke noe Match aboue thy degree.
 Liue together in *the* feare of God.
 Loue, & liue with her in peace.
 Bring up thy children in uertuous callinge ;
 Teach *them* to knowe & feare God ;
 Keep them in due obedyence ;
 Nourish *them* not in delicacye.
 Gouverne thy House in order, for in disorder noe House may stand.
 Prouide before hand, & order thy Expences : so shall thy House continue.
 Keep hospitallity amonge thy Neighbours, but neuer aboue thy power.
 Spare in tyme, & spend in tyme.

¹ The MS has a late title : "Seuerall papers found in Mr Dells Study, Secretary to Bishop Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury." 1601 is the latest date I see in the volume.

Good Advice to a Gouvernour.

[Harl. MS 787, leaf 123, back.]

1. Take not all *that* you can gett, nor doe all *that* you may. For there is noe greater danger to a Noble man, then to let slippe *the* Raines of his lust, & not to restraints them with *the* stronge Bitt of Reason.

2. Let noe Ambicion entangle *your* mynde, for her nature is to ouerthrow her self. Let all untruth be farre from you, *that* your thoughts be not able to accuse *your* Conscience. Soe use *your* Riches as they be receyued into *your* House, but not into *your* heart; for where Couetousness raigneth, there noe other uice is longe absent.

3. Beware *that* in all things which concerne your Honour, Person, & Substance, you put not fortune in trust. For he *that* is wise will neuer hazard *that* danger, wening to haue remedy at her handes.

4. In strange affaires goe not too nigh *the* bottome; and in your owne, doe not streyne or enforce tymes. For, demeaning you soe, you may remaine as you now be, or else you may happe to remember what you were.

5. The danger of Noblemen is, *that* they can not descend, but fall. To the defence whereof nature ordeyneth *the* best Freinds. Therefore perseuere in amity with such as will rather stay you from falling, then sett to theyr hands to helpe you up.

6. Be more carefull of Conscience then of Honour, & doe well till you can noe more; but neuer doe euill, though you may.

7. Let not cruelty, but mercy & pitty ouercome you. For *the* tears & Complaints of *the* wronged will come to Gods presence for your Correccion, & to *the* Princes eares for your disereditt.

8. In *the* Offices *that* you bestowe, haue rather before *your* Eyes *the* worthy then *your* Freinds. For, amonge *your* Freinds, depart *your* Goods, but not *your* Conscience.

9. In *that* you counsell, be not affeccionate : in *that* you discoursell, be not passionate : in *that* you commande, be not absolute. In whatsoeuer you doe, be neyther hasty nor disaduised ; for *the* faults be *yours*, but *the* Iudgment is *the* worlds. And *the* greater *the* man is, *the* more is he noted.

10. If you will not swerue in *your* Counsell, nor stumble in *your* Actes, nor fall from *that* you haue, then fauour him *that* telleth you *the* truth, yea, though it be displeasing ; & abhorre him *that* telleth you any untruth, seem it neuer soe pleasant. For you ought rather to loue him *that* aduiseth you now, then those *that* will make semblance to pitty you hereafter.

Finis.

Warnings and Counsels for Noblemen,

A.D. 1577.

[*Lansdowne MS 98, art. 2, leaf 8: follows Queene Elizabethes
Achademy.*]

Aduertisementes and counsaillies verie necessarye for all noble men
and counsaillors gathered owt of Divers Authours, bothe Italian
and spanish. 1577.

1. Tell not all that yo^w thinke, nor showe all that yo^w have, nor
take all *that* yo^w Desire, nor saie all *that* yo^w knowe, or do all *that*
yo^w can; for lightlie shall he lose the favour of his prince *that*
followeth the counauidentment of his lustes *and* restrayneth not them
with the bitt of reason.

2. Beware yo^w put not fortune in trust with those thinges *that*
apperteyneth to *your* person, honnour, substance, or conscience;
for the noble man *which* is wise will not Hasarde him self in hope to
have relief at her handes as often as he shall nede.

3. Although all men promyse to helpe yo^w yf yo^w had neade, yet
nevertheles, trust not too muche thereunto; manie of them *which*
nowe do offer to take Armour for *your* sake, yf occasion be offered,
will be the fyrst to stryke yo^w, to gyve yo^w the overthrowe.

4. In other mens cawses meddle not to much, nor in *your* owne
enforce not tyme; for governinge yo^w so, yo^w maie remaine in *that*
good estate yo^w be, or els maie easilie happen yo^u to remember what
yo^w were.

5. The daunger of noble men is like to them *that* be in the toppe
of high and sharpe mountaines, whence they cannot descende, but
fall. Wherefore, procure vnto *your* self suche faithfull frendes as
will rather staie yo^w from fallinge, then suche as wold reche vnto yo^w
their handes to helpe yo^w vp when yo^w be Downe.

6. Do good whiles yo^w have poure thereunto, and never do hurte thoughte yo^w maie ; for the Teares of the offended, and *the* compleintes of the greved, maye one daie have place in the sight of god, to move him to chastise yo^w, and be also occasion to make the prince to hate yo^a.

7. Bestowe *your* benefittes and offices rather vpon the good, then vpon *your* frendes ; for *amonges your* frendes it is lawefull to departe *your* goodes, but not *your* conscience.

8. In *that* yo^w counsaill, be not affectionat : in *that* yo^w discourcell, be not passionate : what soever yo^w do, do aduisedly ; for although in the Courtes of princes every man beholdeth the worthines and nobilitie of the person, yet the more noble a man is, the more is he noted, marked, and hated of others.

9. Yf yo^w will not Erre in *your* counsailes, nor stamble in *your* actes, imbrace them *that* tell yo^w trueth, and hate them *that* flatter yo^w ; for muche more ought yo^w to love them *that* adviseth yo^w now, then those *that* will seame to pitie yo^w when yo^w are in Daunger.

10. Have alwaies in memory the benefittes yo^w have receaved of others, and enforce *your* self to forgett suche iniuries as others have Don vnto yo^w.

11. Esteeme muche *that* litle of *your* owne, and regarde not thaboundaunce of other.

12. Indevour *your* self to do good to all men, and never speke eveH of them *that* be absente.

13. Ieoparde not the losse of many thinges for the gaine of one thinge, neither adventure the losse of one thinge certē for manie thinges Dovtful.

14. Make muche of *your* dearest frendes, and do not procure anie Enemies.

15. ¹ Exalte not the riche Tyrante, neither abhorre the pooer *which* is righteouse.

16. Denye not iustice vnto the pooer, because he is pooer ; neither pardon the riche because he is ryche.

17. Do not good onelie for love, neither chastice onelie for hatred.

¹ This paragraph has been marked through.

18. In Evident causes abyde not the counsailes of others, *and* in Dortfull cawses Determyne not of *your* self.

19. suffer not synne vnponished, nor well-doing without rewarde.

[leaf 9] 20. Denie not Iustice to him *that* asketh, nor mercye to him *that* deserueth it.

21. Chastise ¹ not when thou arte Angrye ; neither promyse anie thinge in thy myrthe.

22. Do eveH to no mañ for malice, neither commyt anie vice for covetousn[ess].

23. Open not thy gate to flatterers, nor thy eares to backbyters.

24. Becomē not proude in thi ² prosperitie, nor desperate in thyne aduersitie. stody alwaies to be loved of good meñ, *and* seeke nat to be hated of the EveH.

25. Be favorable vnto the pooer, which maie be litle, yf thou wylt be ayded of god against them *that* be mightie.

¹ ? MS Chastice

² MS this

The Sage Fool's Testament.

(A SATIRE ON THE ILL DOINGS OF LORDS AND
THEIR SERVANTS.)

[*Harl. MS 2252, leaf 85, ? ab. 1475 A.D.*]

There was A grete lorde þat had A Sage fole, the
whyche he lovyd Marvaylous well, Be Cawse of hys
pastyme. And the Fole in lyke wyse lovyd well hys
lorde A-Bove All hother. And at lenthe the lorde
desesyd, for the whyche the fole was in grete sorow.
And the sonne of þis lorde had All hys faders posses-
syons, & was lorde after hys¹ fadyr, & he lovyd hys fole
in lyke wyse as hys fadyr dyde. And with-in A yere
or ij^e After, Thys sage fole Fyll Seke, & made hys Testa-
mente: And Bequethyd hys sowle to the devyfl, And
hys body to be Beryed in the Chyrche yerde; And hys
Folys hode he bequethed to hys lordis Steward, & hys
Babyfl to hys lordis Amner. And to hys lorde he
Bequete All hys money þat he had gaderyd in Bothe
hys lordis sernyce./ And when the lorde had knowlege
herof./ [he] Marvaylyd therof, & whate þat he mente
therbye. And the lorde wente to see the sayd fole.
And Askyd hym ‘why he gave hys Sowle to the devyfl
And all hothe[r] legacyes in hys wyll.’ The Fole Ans-
sweryd the lorde & sayd: “I haue lovyd so well your
fadyr, þat I Covett & Dessyre to be in hys Company

A Lord loves his
Fool,

and dies.

The Lord's son
loves the Fool too.

The Fool falls
sick, and makes
his Will: gives
1. his soul to the
Devil,

2. his hood to the
Steward,
3. his bable to the
Almoner,
4. his money to
his Lord's son,

1. because his dead
Lord's in hell,
and he wants to
join him.

¹ MS hyr.

2. because the
Steward won't
hear the poor.

3. because the
Almoner beats the
poor with his
staff.

4. because all the
son's money, and
the Fool's too,

will not repair the
wrongs the old
Lord did.

Above All thyng's, for he lovyd me so weH./ And I know weH þat he ys in heH; wherfor I wolde be with hym./ And I gyve to my lady your wyffe my Bedde, be Cawse þat she myghte lye on hyt; for now she lyethe so softe, þat hyt ys All-moste none every day or þat she Ryse. And to your Steward, my hode; be Cawse hyt hathe iiij erys. for where ye put All your truste in hym, to pay your Credytour & the pore pepyH, he may not here. And to your Amner, my BabyH: Be Cawse when he delgnereth your Almys A-monge the pore pepyH, they prese on hym, & thene he betis them with hys Staffe, þat the Blode Ron Abowte there erys; & my babyll ys Softer. And, my lorde, to yow I geve All my money þat I haue gatheryd, bothe in your seruyse & my lord your fadyrs, to geve in Almus." "Whye," seyde the lorde, "thowe knoweste þat I haue money more then thow." Then sayde the fole "All that money þat ye haue, & I to, wyll not Restore the wronge þat your fader hathe don, whyche ys in heH. And thedyr ye goe withowte Amendment; & therfor I geve yow AH my money."

[The next piece in the MS is the *Le Morte Arthur*, in a hand of ab. 1440 A.D., that I edited for Messrs Macmillan a few years ago. Mr Panton had previously edited it for the Roxburghe Club.]

Lydgate's Order of Fools:

IN NUMBER THREESCORE AND THREE.

A COPY of this Poem, with three additional stanzas, but with a different concluding one from that of the present copy, was printed by Mr Halliwell in his *Minor Poems of Dan John Lydgate* for the Percy Society. The scarcity of that volume, and the certainty that this print will reach many eyes that have not seen the Percy Society's volume, induce me to print the following poem, though most of its differences from the Harleian MS 2251 that Mr Halliwell followed, are for the worse. As fools have not died out of the world, it may be both interesting and useful to compare the notions of 1460 about them, with those of 1869.

[*Cott. MS Nero A vi., leaf 193 back; ? ab. 1460-70 A.D.*]

The ordre of folys ful [yore ago] ¹ begonne,	
Nwly professyd, encreisithe ² the couente;	
Bacus and Iuno hath set abroche a tonne,	
[And] Brouthe the[r] braynys vn-to exigente,	4
Marcolfe theyer foundyr, patron, <i>and</i> presidente;	
Noumbre of thys frary, iij score and iij,	
Echone registred be grete avysement,	
Endosyd theyre patente that they shale neuer the.	8
Chyffe of folis, men yn bokys redythe,	Fool, No. 1.
Able yn hys foly to holde residence,	
Ys he that nowther god louethe nor dredethe, ³	Fool, No. 2.
Nor to his chyrche hathe none aduertence,	12

¹ ? MS tuore.

² h̄ is printed he : cp. 'lythe,' l. 39.

³ ? MS dredethe

- Fool, No. 3. Nor to his seyntes dothe none reuerence,
 Fool, No. 4. And [hathe] dysdeyne to folke yn pouerte,
 Fool, No. 5. To fadyr and moder dothe none benyuolence :
 A-sele hys patent, for he shal neuer the. 16
- Fool, No. 6. The vj fole thys Frary to begynne,
 More than a fole, braynles *and* wode,
 Ys he that neuer wul forsake synne,
 Fool, No. 7. Nor he þat can noughit, nor lerne wul no goed, 20
 Fool, No. 8. Nor he þat hathe too faces yn on hode
 May be enrollyd yn þys fraternyte,¹
 Fool, No. 9. Cherle of condicion, and borne of gentil blode,
 May clayme of righte þat he shal neuer the. 24
- Fool, No. 10. The x fole may hoppe vp-oñ the rynges,
 Fote al aforne, *and* lede ryghte the dawnce ;
 He þat al yewythe,² *and* kepethe hym selfe no thynges.
 Fool, No. 11. þ° double herte, feyre feynyd countenawnce 28
 Fool, No. 12. A pretens³ face treble yn hys dalyaunce,
 Fool, No. 13. Tonge spreynthe *with* suger, the galle kepte secrete,
 Fool, No. 14. A perilous mouthe ys wors þan spere or launce, 31
 Thoughtit they be cheryssed, god lete hym neuer the.⁴
- Fool, No. 15. A Face vnstabyll, gasyng est and sowthē,
 Fool, No. 16. *With* loude laughtrys entrithe⁵ langage,
 Gapithe as a roke, abrode gothe Iowe *and* mowthe
 Lyke a lay enfamynyd yn hys cage, 36
 Fool, No. 17. Malaparte of chere and of wysage,
 Fool, No. 18. Comethe to counsel or he callyd be,
 Fool, No. 19. Of eche þyng medelythe ; hys thryfte lythe yn morgage ;
 Auant a knawe ! for he shal neuer the. 40
- In the boke of prudence cypryane,⁶
 Whyche callyd ys "a gardeyne of hys flowres,"

¹ MS fraternyte² giveth³ ? MS.⁴ Harl. 2251 has another stanza before the next.⁵ vttrithe. Harl.⁶ H. prudent Cipiouñ.

He seythe a pulter þat sellythe a fatte swanne Fool, No. 20.

For a gosselyng, þat grasethe on bareyne clowrys, 44

And he þat castythe hys cloke yn showrys Fool, No. 21.

Oute of the tempest whan he may flee,

Or whan þat spado lowythe paramours, Fool, No. 22.

[Is oon] of hem that shalle neuer the. 48

[And he also, that holt hymself so wise,] Fool, No. 23.

Whyche yn workyn[g] hath non experiens,

Whos chaunce gothe nether yñ synke or syse, Fool, No. 24.

With ambes ase encressithe hys dispence, 52

A Foltysse face, rude of eloquence, Fool, No. 25.

Bostys with borias, and [at] a brownte wul flee ;

Betwene wolle and gossomer is a grete difference ;

Stuffe of a chappman that ys not like to the. 56

I rede also of othyr folis too,

Thynge to chalange to whyche he hathe no ryghte ; Fool, No. 26.

And he yn trowthe a more fole ys al so, Fool, No. 27.

Whyche alle requirethe that commethe yn hys sighte ;

And he ys a fole whyche [to] euery wyghte 61 Fool, No. 28.

Tellethe hys counselle and hys pryuyte :

Who sekythe werre, and hathe hym selfe no myghte, Fool, No. 29.

Hit were meruelle þat euer he shuld the. 64

Anothyr fole with counterfete wesage Fool, No. 30.

Ys he þat falsluy wul fage¹ and feyne,

Whedyr that he be olde or yyng² of age,

Seythe he ys syke, and felythe no maner payne ; 68

And he þat dothe hys owne wyfe disseyne,³ Fool, No. 31.

And holdythe anothyr, of what asstate he be,

With othyr folis embrace hym yn the cheyne,

A warantyse for he shal neuer the. 72

Of thys frary mo folys to expresse,

He that ys to euery man contrary,

¹ flater. *Harl.*

² MS þynge

³ dislayne. *Harl.*

- Fool, No. 32. And he þat bostyth of hys cursidnes,
 Fool, No. 33. And he also that dothe *prolonge* and *tarie* 76
With faire [be]hestis, fro hys *promys* to *warye* ;
 Beseluy to telle I can no *noþer* see,
 He ys like a *fugetyf* þat fleth to *santuarie*
 For drede of hangyng, for he shal *neuer* the. 80
- Fool, No. 34. He ys a fole eke, as *senek* seythe,
 That long delaythe hys purpose to *spede*.
 Fool, No. 35. A gretter fole ys he þat brekythe hys feythe ;
 Fool, No. 36. And he ys a fole þat no sh[ame] dothe] dre[de], 84
 Fool, No. 37. And he that hotythe, and faylythe hys frynde at nede,
 Whos *promys* braydythe on *duplicite* ;
 A hardy mouse that ys bolde to brede
 In cattis erys ; þat brode shal *neuer* the 88
- Fool, No. 38. And he ys a fole þat yenythe al-so credens
 To nwe *rumoris* and euery *foltishe* fable ;
 Fool, No. 39. A dronglew fole þat sparythe for no *dispenco* .
 To drynk a-taunte til he slepe at þ^e tabille ; 92
 Fool, No. 40. Among al folis þat fole/ is most culpabulle
 That ys cursyd, and hathe therof *deynte* ;
 Fool, No. 41. A pore be[ge]re, to be *vengeable*,
 [Withe] purs penyles, may *neuer* the 96
- Fool, No. 42. And he þat holdythe a quarel a-yenst righte,
 Hold[yng]¹ hys purpose styburne a-geyn *reson* ;
 Fool, No. 43. And he ys a fole þat ys ay glalde to fighte,
 And to debate sekethe *occasioun* ; 100
 Fool, No. 44. Abyde so long to he be betyn downe,
 Dronkyn, lame, þat he may not flee ;
 Fool, No. 45. And who so reioysethe to soïorne in *prisoun*,
 Enrolle hym vppe, for he shal *neuer* the. 104
- Fool, No. 46. A lusty galant þat weddythe a olde wiche
 For grete tresoure, be-cause hys purse ys bare ;

¹ MS Holde.

- A hungrey hunter þat holdythe hym ¹ A biche Fool, No. 47.
 Nemyll of mouthe for to mordyr A hare ; 108
 Nyghte riotours ² þat wil no waryn spare, Fool, No. 48.
 Wythe-outen licens or eny liberte,
 Tyl sodyn perel bryng hem yn þ^e snare,
 A preperatif þat þey shal neuer the. 112
- Who dothe amysse, or lawghethe hym selfe to skorne, Fool, No. 49.
 Or com to counsel or þat he be callyd, Fool, No. 50.
 Or lowde lawghys whan he dothe ³ morne, Fool, No. 51.
 Amonge foles of riȝt he may be stallyd ; 116
 [That] purposithe hys wyage whan hys hors ys gallyd, Fool, No. 52.
 [And] pluckethe of hys shone toward hys iorney, Fool, No. 53.
 Forsakythe fresshe wyne, And drynkythe Ale Apallyd ; Fool, No. 54.
 Suche foltishe taste, ⁴ god let hem neuer the. 120
- And he þat is a riatter al hys life, Fool, No. 55.
 And [hathe] hys felow and hys neghbor yn dispite, Fool, No. 56.
 And wondythe hym selfe with hys owne knyfe, Fool, No. 57.
 Of j. candyl wenethe ij. were lighte, 124
 Slepethe on the day and wacchis al þ^e nyghte ;
 Alle masse be done long or he redy be ;
 Suche I may clayme, be very titul of riȝte,
 To be a brothyr of hem þat shal neuer the. 128
- Who holdythe hys tresoure þat he wissethe, Fool, No. 58.
 And gaderithe hym gossomer to packe hyt for hys wolle,
 And he ys a fole afore the nette þat fysshes, ⁵ Fool, No. 59.
 And he ys a fole þat dothe Federys pulle 132 Fool, No. 60.
 Of fat caponys vp mwyd to the fulle,
 Hath no thyng but bonys for hys fee ;
 N[u]llatensis a-sesythe ⁶ hath hys bulle
 To alle suche, þat neuer of hem shalle the, 136
- When þat gander grasythe on þ^e grene, Fool, No. 61.
 The sleyghty fox dothe hys brode beholde,

¹ houndithe on. *Harl.*

² motoners. *Harl.*

³ laughyng. whan that he shuld. *Harl.* ⁴ foolis. *Harl.*

⁵ dothe wisshithe. *Harl.*

⁶ ensealed. *Harl.*

He takythe the fatte [and] cast a-way the lene,
 And [sigrums]¹ chefe wardyn of the folde, 140
 Takythe to hys lard[er] at what pryse þey be solde,
 Grettest lamber, on or to, to or iij';
 [In wynter n]ythys the frostis be so colde,
 The shepard slepyth; god let thym neuer the! 144

Fool, No. 62.

[A fo]ryn² likenes whych shal no man displece,
 [By] a strange vncouth comparisoun,
 [W]hen the belwedyr pasturythe at hys ese,
 [T]how alle the flocke hawe but smal foyoun, 148
 [S]lepethe at leyser, makythe noyse none nor soune,
 [Ca]rethe for no more so he haue plente:
 [A]l tho þat make suche a departysowne
 [A]mong her suggettis, god lett hem neuer the! 152

Fool, No. 63.

With ful wombe þey prechyd of Abstinence,
 Ther botel Fyllyd of freshe wyne or ale,
 Loue rownyng, loutyng *and* reuerence,
 Nwe fals reporte with many glosyng tale; 156
 The Iay more cherychyð þan the nyȝtyngale,
 Tabourers with her duplicite
 Plesithe more þys days, when stuffyð ys þer male
 Farsed with flateryng; god let hem neuer the! 160

³[L]ete thys frary a confirmacioun,
 [And] som worthy byshoppe nullatence,
 [And] graunten hem a general pardoun
 [And] a patent to be-gyn her dispence, 164
 [Er]ly *and* late to walke with licence
 [With] opyn walet frely en eche countre,
 [He]r bul enselyð, concludyng in sentence 167
 [Th]at none of al þys ordyr ys neuer like to the. Amen.

¹ Harl.² A foreyn. Harl.³ Pared off. Harl. 2251 has three different stanzas for this last one.

A Prophecy, &c.

[*Additional MS 8151, leaf 200, back; at the end of William of Nassington's 'Mirror of Life,' and in the same hand as that.*]

¶ De propheta.

<p>¶ Whene pryde is moste in prys, Ande couetyse moste wys, Ande luechery moste in vse, þese maade reue, þenne schaff englonde mys-chewe.</p>	<p>When England shall come to grief.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">4</p>
---	---

[What can man possess?]

<p>þat .I. ete <i>and</i> þat .I. drynke, þat may .I. haue ; þat .I. lene fals mene, longer .I. may hyt craue ; þat .I. dele for my soule, þat may .I. fynde ; þat .I. lefe my sekatoures, þat is longer by-hynde.</p>	<p>8 Gifts to God come back.</p>
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<p>All hyt is fantome þat we wiþe fare, Ande for opere mennes goode is all oure care ; Alle come we hyder nakude <i>and</i> bare, Whenne we heþene passe, is þere no mare.</p>	<p>12 Naked we came, naked we go.</p>
---	--

[Alls of our time. See p. 88.]

<p>Gyfte is domusmane, Gyle is chapemane ; Lordes bene lawles, Chyldere bene awles ; Wysemene are blynde, Deþe is oute of mynde, Cosyns bene vnkynde, A goode sykere frende is yueþ to fynde ; Ande euere, in weele <i>and</i> in woo, þenke one þe ioy þat lasteþe for oo.</p>	<p>Bribery is Judge,</p> <p style="text-align: center;">16</p> <p>children aweless,</p> <p style="text-align: center;">20</p> <p>sure friends are scarce.</p>
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What shall I do?

(A COMPLAINT AGAINST THE UNKINDNESS AND
BASENESS OF FALSE FRIENDS.)

[*Egerton MS 1624, leaf 1, ?ab. 1470 A.D.*]

als I me sat my self allon,
in my hart makand¹ my mon,
I said "allas, my gammys ar gon !
 qwat sal I do ? 4
 that I most trayste,
 it is all waste !
 sor may me rew !

My hert was set ful stedfastly 8
on *tham that* noȝt was set on me ;
thus am I sted ful heuely.
god lord, qwat sal worth of me ?
 qwat sall I do &c' 12

I wold fayn lof w[*ith*]out verraunce
 tham that my hert I haf gyffyn to :
it wyllnot be, for no kyn chauns,
 that I can audur say or do. 16
 v[t] supra

¹ This *-and*, with the *qwat*, *sall*, *haf*, *lof*, *thai* *puttis*, point to a Northern writer.

- deer god ! qwat may *this* mene ?
 qwy is *this* ward¹ *thus* fals to me ?
 I am *the* creatur *that* il kan fene 20
 any falsed or trechere :
 qwat sall I do ? &c'
- with care my hert is vmbe-set ;
 qwat I sal do I cannot say ; 24
tham for to lof I cannot let,
that me has brogħt vn-to *this* fray :
 [qwāt sal I do ?] &c'
- wold god *that* I war brogħt in clay ! 28
 ful hard it is *this* lyf to lede !
 I pray god qwytte *tham* nyȝt and day,
that me *thus* make to haue *this* nede !
 [qwāt sal I do, &c] 32
- god wot, ȝit was I neuer vnkynd
 to *tham*, ne ȝit to non of *thayrs* ;
ther was neuer non so mykyll² in my mynde,
 qwo^t so I haue don to *tham* and *thers*. 36
 [qwāt sal I do, &c]
- that* *thai* me puttis *thus* out of mynde,
 qwat *that* *thai* men I wold fayne wytte.
 god wot I was neuer ȝit vn-kynde, 40
 of no thyng *that* *thai* hafter³ me ȝit.
 [qwāt sal I do ?
 that I most trayste,
 it is all waste ! 44
 sor may Me rew !]

¹ world.² MS mylkyll.

³ This word is doubtful—q^u, or q^u with a long curl to the *u*, has been written under it, and the curl carried into the *aft*. *Hasked*, for *asked*, was no doubt meant.

Ylls of our Time.

(A better copy than that on p. 85. The stops are those
of the MS.)

[Harleian MS 2251 (1 in Shirley's hand), leaf 153.]

¶ <i>Munus fit¹ Iudex. fraus est mercator in vrbe</i> <i>Non lex est dominis. nec timor est pueris</i>	
¶ Yift is made. domesman	
Gyle is made. chapman	4
Lordes ben lawles	
And children ben awles	
¶ <i>Ingen[i]um dolus est. amor omnis cera² voluptas</i> <i>Ludus rusticitas. et gula festa dies</i>	8
Witte is tourned. to trechery	
Love is tourned. to lechery	
Pleye is tourne[d] to vilany	
And haliday. to gloteny	12
¶ <i>Etas riletur. mulier pulsatur amore</i> <i>Dives laudatur. pauper³ adheret hmo</i>	
Olde men. ben skorned	
Wymmen. ben wowed	16
Riche men. bien pleasid	
And pore men. ben diseasid	
¶ <i>Prudentes ceci. cognati degeneres sunt</i> <i>Mortuus Ignotus. nullus amicus amat</i>	20
Wise men. bien blynde	
And kynrede. is vnkynde	
The dede is. out of mynde	
Triew friende. can noman fynde.	24

¹ MS sit ² ? for certa or mera. ³ MS paupere

The Order of the Guests at the Coronation Banquet of Catherine of Valois,
wife of Henry V.,

24 FEB., 1421.¹

[MS *Addit.* 18,752, leaf 162.]

*The tramamaton.*²

THE CORONACION OFF *THE* QWENE.

THE QWENES BORDE THE DAY OFF THE CORONACION.

On *the* ryght hond of the qwene, the Erchebysshope off Canterbury // The Bysshope off Wynchester // On *the* lyfte hond off the qwene / The kyng off Scottes yn A State // At the End off the qwene-ys borde / The duchesse of yorke, The Cowntes off hunthyngton // Vnder the borde. / wayting on *the* Qwene / The Cowntes off kente, The cownt[e]z marchaſt // On *the* ryght syde of the qwene knelyd / The Erle of *the* marche holdyng *the* Ceptre And on *the* lyfte syde knelyd / *the* Erle off Stafford holdyng the yarde //

The Secownd Borde of *the* ladys

The cowntes off Stafford // The Cowntez off marche. The Cowntez off Arundell // The Cowntez off Westmorland The Cowntez off Northhumburland // The cowntez off Oxonford The lady Nevyle // My lady Ione Somersett // My lady Moubrey, dowgthere off *the* Erle Marchaſt // My lady Margarete Somersett // The lady Roos // The lady Clyfforde, The lady Burgeveny // The lady Talbott // The lady Wylloby // The lady Mawley // Alice Neveſt, wyffe to sir Richard Neyle // The Mayde Grey, doughther to *the* lord Grey // Oon of *the* doughthers of Westemoreland // The lordes doughthere fythzhug // ij Sisters of *the* lord Wylleby.

THE SECONDE DAY AFTER THE CORONACION

ATT THE QWENE-YS BORDE

The Duchesse off yorke // The Countesse off huntynghton //

Att the Secownd borde.

The Cowntez off Stafforde // The Cowntez off March, The Cowntez off kente // The cowntez off Arundell, The Cowntez Marchall /

And othere ladys afture the Cowrs of the day a-flore-Seyde //

¹ *Catalogue of Additions to the MSS in the Brit. Mus.*, 11848-53, printed 1868, p. 145.

² So in MS.

Courses of a Dinner and Supper given to Hen. V. by Sir John Cornweſt.

[Additional MS 18,752, leaf 162, back.]

Hoc feſtum fecit dominus Iohannes Cornweſt Regi Anglie //

²

A

[The rest of the page is blank.]

[leaf 163]

Thetragramaton ³

In prandio

The 2. course

ffrumenty with veneson ¹	} primus	Nonbles ⁶	} 2 ^{us} .
Blawmanger ⁵		Gelee ⁷	
Beffe and Moton		flesaunte	
Signetys		pygg	
Capons off haute grece		kydde	
vele		Pygeons	
heronseux		Partrycches	
venyson y-bake		venyson roste	
leche filoree		Crustades ⁸ blanc; bake	
		leche dalmayn	
		Semaka ⁹ frye;	

¹ *Catal. of Addit. MSS, Brit. Mus.*, 1868, p. 145-6.

² The Additional MSS-Catalogue applies this heading to the piece before it, printed on p. 92 here, though the hand-writing and colour of the ink seem to connect the heading with what follows on the next leaf (163) of the MS. The whole of this piece on leaf 163 is in the same hand and ink as the Coronation, whilst the piece printed on p. 92 here is in paler ink and different writing,—earlier, as I think.

³ This is at the top of the page.

⁴ 'For to make Ffurmenty' in *Forme of Cury*, p. 91, "messe yt forthle wyth fat venyson and fresh moton." See also the Earl of Devon's Feast in *Hart. Misc.*, No. 279. Pegge, in *Forme of Cury*, p. 157.

⁵ Recipe for 'Blone Manger' in *Liber Cure Coc.*, p. 9; 'Blomanger' in *Forme of Cury*, p. 93.

⁶ Recipe in *Forme of Cury*, p. 16, 94; *H. Ord.*, p. 427; *Lib. C. Coc.*, p. 10.

⁷ Recipe for 'mete Gelee,' clear, in *Forme of Cury*, p. 103; 'Gele of Fyssh,' *ib.* p. 50; 'Gele of Flessh,' *ib.* p. 51. See *H. Ord.*, p. 437.

⁸ Recipe for 'Crustade' in *Household Ordinances*, p. 442.

⁹ 'On Flessh-Day . . At the seconde course . . a leche, and samakade, and bake mete,' *H. Ord.*, p. 450. See the recipe for *Sambocade*—curd, eggs, &c., flavoured with elder flowers: *Sambucus*, the Elder,—in *Forme of Cury*, p. 77.

The 3 course

Mameny¹ ryaft
 Chare de wardon²
 Rabetys
 Byteres³
 Egretys
 Popelers⁴
 Quayles
 Plouers
 Small byrdis⁵
 larkes
 Payn puffle⁶
 leche lumbarde⁷
 Cryspes frye⁸

In Cena

Venyson on broche
 Creme boylle⁹
 Pygg in Sauge¹⁰
 Schuldres of Moton
 Capons of haute grece
 Heronseux
 Partrych
 Chekyns y-bake
 lete¹¹ lardes y-fryed

The last course

Colde Creme¹²
 Gele
 Venyson roste
 kyde roste
 Rabetis
 Pegeons
 Egretys
 Quayles
 Small byrdis
 Doucetis¹³ y-bake
 Leche damasque

Nota bene the coronacion yn the leffe nexte be-fore thus

¹ Recipes in *Forme of Cury*, p. 19, 88; *H. Ord.*, p. 430.

² ? Apple marmalade.

³ Bitterns. See 'Betowre' in *Babees Book* index.

⁴ *Popple*, to move quickly up and down, as a cork dropped on water. *Webster*.

⁵ See *Liber Cure Cocorum*, p. 36, l. 8.

⁶ Recipe in *H. Ord.*, p. 450; *Forme of Cury*, p. 89.

⁷ Recipe in *H. Ord.*, p. 438; *Forme of Cury*, p. 36; *Babees Book*, Pt II, p. 95.

⁸ Recipes for 'Cryspes' and 'Cryspels' in *Forme of Cury*, p. 73; for 'Cryppys,' *ib.* p. 99.

⁹ Recipe for 'Crem Boyled' in *H. Ord.*, p. 447, p. 463.

¹⁰ 'Pigge en Sage' at the Earl of Devon's Feast in *Harl. Misc.*, No. 279.

¹¹ *Pegge*.

¹² See the recipes for 'Letlardys' (Leche Lardys), in *Liber Cure Coc.*, p. 13, and 'Leche Lardys' in *H. Ord.*, p. 439.

¹³ On Flessh-Day . . . At the thridde cours, *colde creme*, and *gele* to potage; and therwith fylettes of *venyson*, rosted *pejons*, *egretys*, *partoriches*, *rabettes* and *qwales* . . . and *cuspiis* and *doucettes*. *H. Ord.*, p. 450.

¹⁴ Recipe in *Babees Leech*, p. 60; and see Index to *B. B.*

Courses of a Meal or Banquet.

[*MS Addit. Brit. Mus. No. 18752, leaf 162, back.*']

Grene pese, with venesoñ.	} 1 ^{us} cursus
Graunte chare. ²	
Capoñ of hawte grece.	
Signet. ³	
Blawnche custarde, dyaburde with byrdys. leche maskelyñ.	

Roo in brothe. ⁴	} 2 ^{us} cursus
Rosey. ⁵	
Kydde.	
Heronsewe.	
Mownter in manteH.	
Chykyñ dyaburde. venesoñ y-bake. ffruter lumbarde. leche rubby.	

Datys in composte.	} Suggearke [<i>Sugar-work?</i>]
Blawnche creme, with annys in confete.	
Lardys of venesoñ.	
Rabbettis.	
Qwayle.	
larkys.	
Rysshewes. ⁶ vyandys cowched with ryons. l leche of his Armyes.	

¹ In different ink and hand from the *Coronation*, page 89, above.

² A great joint. Cp. 'and therwith gret flesh weel roasted, and chapon, and swan roasted.' *Househ. Ord.*, p. 450.

³ cygnet, swanling.

⁴ See recipe in *Househ. Ord.*, p. 428; and 'Roo in a Sewe,' *Lib. C. Coc.* p. 23.

⁵ 'For to make Rosee,' *Forme of Cury*, p. 105, 108; 'Rosee,' *ib.* p. 31; 'Rose to potage' in *Household Ordinances*, p. 430; 'Rose' in *Lib. Cure Coc.* p. 13; 'Rose dalmoyne,' *ib.* p. 19.

⁶ Rysshews of Fruyt, in *Forme of Cury*, p. 82, No. 182. See too 'Risshens' (of pork, eggs, &c.) in *Lib. C. Coc.* p. 39.

A Scotch copy of a Poem on Heraldry.

[*Harleian MS 6149, leaves 151—155, from a book of Sir William Cummyn's of Inverallochy, Marchmond Herald, ab. 1500 A.D.*]

THIS poem appears to have been composed late in the 15th century, by one of that unwise class of writers on Heraldry, who, not content with assigning to that science its proper place as a handmaid to History (which, by enabling the ownership and dates of various buildings, charters, monuments, &c., to be identified, the matrimonial alliances of noble families to be proved, &c. &c., it certainly is) by claiming for it a fabulous origin, and one so manifestly capable of disproof, brought the whole subject into such contempt and ridicule, that the study of it in later generations was almost entirely neglected. Such, in 1661 A.D., was Sylvanus Morgan, who ascribes arms to Adam, Eve, Joseph, &c.; and various others both in England and Scotland.—G. E. ADAMS. (The heraldic footnotes are Mr Adams's too.)

FIRST as ¹*the erth incresith populus,*
So convalit variance *and vicis,*²

As people and
vices increase,

Amang men materis maliciouse,

So *that* few mycht laubour for discrepancis,
quhill nobilnes in armes, lordly pusancis,
and of heraldis *the* werschipful ordour,
Of quham I think to tret, set weyis sure.

4 few men work for
the distinctions
which heralds
deal with.

In werris of thebes, athenis, *and* troyis tounis,
with *otheris* mo of gret antiquiteis,

Banneris, standeris, gittovnis,³ pensalis, penonis,
borne by princis, nobillis, *and* commyniteis,

8 In the wars of
Thebes, Athens,
and Troy,
banners, &c.,
were borne by
nobles and others.

In ferre of werre, pes, or ony degreis,

12

I find *thai* war most merkis, as merchandis
Beris toknis or signetis on ther handis.

¹ *th* = *y* of MS.

² MS *vicis* & variance

³ *Getoun*, a banner, properly 2 yards in length.—*Archæol.*
xxii. 397. See note, p. 29, above.

- Afterwards, Quhill efter euer *the* langest leving men
heris, speris, *and* lernis more felle *and* wit, 16
- ingenious folk Diuerse folkis ingenyouse fyndene *thene*
In well degest myndis considerit,
inspired by God, Be celestial inspiring part tuk it,
set Arms in To set armes in metallis *and* colouris, 20
figures of ffor seir causis bering sertyn figouris,

Sum sonne, sum monne, sum sternis, sum elementis,
beasts, birds, &c., Sum best, sum bird, sum fische, sum frut, sum flouris,
and mony mo siclik; Sum *with* defferentis, 24

some like Nature Sum alterit, als sum in *ther* awin nature;
and some not. Sum, not *the* hole, bot part in raschit¹ figouris,
As my simplest consate sal suin mak clere,
With correctioun, *and* now quha likis heir. 28
- In the Theban The eldest, gret, most populus, mortal were,
war (which I wes at thebes, quhiche at lenth I did write,
wrote of at Quhare palamonne and arsite, woundit there,
length) Palamon Be *ther* cotis of armes knawin parfite, 32
and Arcite were Be heraldis war, sum sais, bot *that* I nyte,²
known by their ffor in *thai* dais heraldis war not create,
arms. Nor *that* armes set in propir estate.
- After the siege Bot eftir *that* troy, quhar so mony kingis war 36
of Troy about Seging without, *and* other within the toune,
the knights at So mony princis, knyghtis, *and* peple there,
which my Book as this my buk *the* most sentence did soune,
tells, all *thocht* spedful in o conclusioun, 40

nobles wore That nobillis bere merkis, to mak be knawin,
marks to record *ther* doughtynes in dedis of armes schawin:
their doughtiness,

¹ Erased. See l. 168. 'In Heraldry, the Member of any Beast which seems torn from the Body, is called *Erased*.'—*Gloss. Angl. Nor.*

² Deny. Chaucer is one of the 'sum' contradicted: see his *Knights Tale*, A. 1016-17, Ellesmere MS.

But by here Cote Armures / and by hir gere
The *heraundes* / knewe hein best in special

- The fader *the* hole, *the* eldast son deffer[e]nt,¹
 quhiche a labelle ; a cressent *the* secound ; 44
 third a molet ; *the* fourt a merl to tent ;
 fift anne aglot ;² *the* vj a flour had fond,
 Clepit delice.³ *than* fader or we the suld grond
 Armes to mo, gif *thai* be *with* difference 48
 As plesit him : *thus* armes begoū from thenis.
- Than* troy distroyit, *the* werris endit, *the* lordis
 I seir landis removit ; *and* so brutus
 (his lif *and* dait my buk efter recordis,) 52
 Come in brutane *with* folkis populis,
 And brocht *with* him *this* werly merkis thus,
 quhiche succedis in armes to *this* date ;
 Bot lang efter troy, heraldis war nochit creat. 56
- Mony haldis *that* gret Iulius cesar
 ffand, *and* did mast be wit *and* discrecioun,
 how in metallis *and* colouris armes ar
 Now propir set *with* hie perfectioun 60
 In braid feldis to bere *and* to blasoun.
 On principal I traist wes his prudens,
With otheris mo preceding him *and* sence.
- Gold *and* siluer, ij preciose metallis pure, 64
 ffour colouris bene propir, *and* the[r]-with mixt,

and the sons
 bore distinctions
 on their fathers'
 arms.

After the
 destruction of
 Troy, Brutus
 (whose life my
 Book tells)
 brought these
 marks into
 Britain.

Many think
 Julius Cæsar was
 the first to blaze
 arms properly
 (see l. 204); and
 I think he was
 wise enough
 for it.

With gold and
 silver are mixed

¹ These differences or distinctions of houses (which are only used in British heraldry) were invented about the time of Richard II. The eldest son (in the lifetime of his father) bears a label over the arms of his father ; the second son, a crescent ; the third, a mullet, i. e. spur-rowel ; the fourth, a martlet, the heraldic name of the house-marten ; the fifth an annulet (here called "aglot") ; the sixth, a fleur-de-lis ; the seventh, a rose ; the eighth, a cross moline ; the ninth, a double quarter-foil.

² *Aglot* = annulet. Richardson says *aglet* or *aiglet*, diminutives of *acus*, a point ; and quotes Spenser's *Faerie Queene*, b. 11, c. 3—who mentions a garment besprinkled "with golden *aygulets*." Query, If these were not *annulets*? *Aglot* in our text is certainly used for annulet. (But annulets were very rarely used as marks of cadency in Scottish heraldry, says a Scotch friend. See note, p. 103.)

³ *de lys*.

black, red, blue,
green; but not
purple.

Sable, goulis, asur, vert: *perpure*
the[r]-with¹ *wnproper*, as *proportis the text*;
In it *apperis diuerse colouris* befixt, 68
therfor it is not o *propir* colour,
Bot sufferit so in armes of honour.

What precious
stones represent
the heraldic
metals and
colours.

To blasoune *therin vertuys* stanis, gold Is
more *precius than* oucht *that* ma be set. 72
In it bot stonne goldy, as *thopasis*;
Siluer is perl; sable, diamont² of det;
Goulis, ruby; asur, *the saphir* set;
Vert, *emeraut*; pu[r]pour, *the amathis*. 76
Tovny colour, sum *haldis* cassidone Is.

Silver and sable
are said to be the
richest arms.

Sum seis siluer *and* sable ar *the* richest,
ffor in *the* two most *cristin and hethin* kingis
makis *and brekis* *ther lawis* As *thai* lust best; 80
and quhen *thai* tak honour othir or sic thingis,
thai sit in sable *and siluer* *that* euery bringis;
and of brutane³ *the duk*, bering *the sammyñ*,
Richast armes is, as I lernit am. 84

The Duke of
Brittany bears
them,

¹ I read it, "Gold and silver are two pure precious metals. There are four colours proper, and therewith mixed, viz. sable, gules, azure, and vert.—Purple (to mix) therewith is improper, as says the text, &c."

Purple is very seldom used in English heraldry. It is nonsense, however, to say it is *improper* to use it, as it is quite good heraldry. A purple lion was borne by the De Lacy family, Earls of Lincoln, and is (accordingly) the arms of Lincoln's Inn.

'Proper' above means 'properly so called.' In blazoning the arms of nobles, the ancient heralds called "or," topaz; "argent," pearl; "sable," diamond; "gules," ruby; "azure," sapphire; "vert," emerald; and "purple," amethyst. In all the books of *English* heraldry two other colours are allowed, viz. 'Tenné' or tawny, i. e. orange colour, and 'Sanguiné,' i. e. blood colour. There is, however, no instance of their occurrence.

² *Sable*, the Herald's Word for a black Colour in the Arms of Gentlemen; but in those of the Nobility they call it *Diamond*, and in the Coats of Sovereign Princes *Saturn*. 'Tis expressed in Engraving by strokes drawn perpendicularly across.—*Gloss. Angl. Nora.* 1719.

³ The arms of Brittany were "Ermine," i. e. *white*, with *black* ermine spots.

- All writ in warld most be as siluer *and* sable ;
 quhite leiff, blak Ink, *that* al kingis, for most part, and so do most
 Cristin *and* hethin, beris gold *and* siluer able kings.
 thing of riches riolest to aduert, 88
and most noble, for no colouris astert
 So preciose as gold to set in it, Metals and
 ffor siluer [than] perll more riche to wit ; colours exceed
 in worth the
 precious stones
- Goullis, ruby ; asur, saphire exceedis ; 92 that represent
 Vert, emerautis ; *and* amatist, purpur ; them.
 therof gold is moche rich in werely wedis.
 ffowr thingis in armes brekis thaim in *ther* natur : Arms are broken
 Bendis, sic,¹ cheveroune, *and* barris² sure ; 96 by Bends, Fesses,
 Thaim blason first, gif therin *the* feld be ; Chevrons, and
 Bars.
 quhat euer he bere, *and* be it quarterlie.³
- Than to begin at colour in *the* rycht sid :
 and it is said, non armes may be cald 100 It is said that no
 propirly set, bot *therin* be to-gid arms are proper,
 Gold or siluer in *the* sammyn to behold.⁴ unless gold and
 And for repreve to blase, men wise be schuld. silver are in
 them.
 ffowr thingis in armes bot onys suld namyt be, 104
 Onis of, onis in, onys withe, *and* onys to see ;
- Quhiche, gif he may forbere, it is *the* bet.
 and als in armis ar sertene rondis,⁵ as ball, Roundles have
 diverse names,

¹ ? fess, the *fece* of l. 113, which is another ordinary.

² Bends, chevrons, and bars are three of the somewhat numerous "ordinaries" so called from their frequent use. In "*blazoning*" (i. e. describing the coat in words) the ordinary is always mentioned before any other charge (such as bird, beast, &c.), that there may be in the arms. *Query*, What are the *four* things in the line above? only three are mentioned. Can "sic" be a mistake for "fess," which is another ordinary?

³ If the coat is quarterly, the colour (or metal) on the dexter side of the coat (i. e. that opposite one's left hand) is to be "*blazoned*" as the first.

⁴ Some say no arms are correct unless therein is either gold or silver.

⁵ In arms are certain Roundles, which, when gold, are called "*bezants*," when silver, "*plates*," when sable, "*pellets*," when gules, "*torteaux*," when azure, "*hurts*," when vert,

- according to
their colours. Metalis, colouris forsaid figourit *and* set, 108
Gold, besentis; siluer, plateis to call;
Sable, poletis; goulis, tortes at al;
Asur, hurtis; verte, pomme; wyndows,¹ purpur.
3hit four thingis longis to armis in colour, 112
- Of the Pale, That is, pales, bendis, feces, cheveronis.
perpale, evin douñ extendis through the myd feild;
Fess, perfess, ourthwert from sid to sid it gonne Is;
Bend, perbend, from rycht corner to left it held; 116
Chevron, and per cheveronne, part devid wnto iij the feild;
Baton. Onne bastone is contrary to a bend:
The tonne frome left, the tother frome rycht sid tend.
- None but gentles
should wear
arms. Non bot gentillis suld cotis of armes were, 120
Cummyñ of stok noble, or maid be kingis;
3it fold² wil say of men herness in gere,
Don't call arme'd
men 'men of
arms' unless they
are all 'gentle.' "llo men of armis!" that is wntrew seyng,
bot al be gentil; therfor see suthfast thing, 124
"llo armit men!" 3it to know neidful is
xv maneris of lionys in armys,
- Of the 15
kinds of Lions
in Heraldry. first, a lionne [statant]; on-vthir, lyone rampand;
Third, saliant; the fourt, passand I-wis; 128
the v. seand; vj mordand; vij cuchand;
the viij dormand; the ix regardand is;
The x endorsit; xj copray schawis;
The xij copy conter changit aduert; 132
xiij in nomer [morné]; xiiij, lionñ cowerd;
And the xv combatand,³ als to see.
xv maner of croc's armis here:

"pomes," when purple, "*golpes*,"—*Query*, in text called "windows." (Perhaps from the slanting parallel lines that represent purple in heraldry: compare the fourth meaning of "*window*" in Mahn's Webster, "A figure formed of lines crossing each other [Rare] "Till he has *windows* on his bread and butter." *King*."—F.)

¹ ? for 'wounds.'

² fool, or folk.

³ combatand.

- The first, hole croce ; *the tother*, engrelit be ; 136 Of the 15 kinds
The third, awndi ; *the iiij*, paty in feir ;¹ of Crosses in
the v. a crois ; *vj*, crois flarait cleir ; Heraldry.
vij botand ; viij crosolat ; ix batone ;
x fovrmie ; xj crois fichye ; 140
- xij sarsile fere ; demolyn xiiij ;
xiiij regle ; xv sucylle, sey.
quhat maner of best or bird goith rond to sene,
About *the feld blase* it heroune veray.² 144
- Twa thingis in armis sal end in schewis a[l]wey ; Three or more
Gif *ther* be mo off *thaim than ij that* schewis, Lions and Herons
As lionne-sewys,³ to sey, *and* heronne-sewis ; are called Lioncels
and Heronsews ;
- Bot onne or⁴ ij call lion or heroun. 148 but 1 or 2, Lion
or Heron.
- Armis vmdois, ij strakis myd feld devid,
ffet⁵ ar in armis, *and* ij thingis compone
lik to *vther*, barr *and* fete⁵ brode to-gid.
Als certane thingis plurar in armis go, 152
As flouris to blase, and pellettis with thoo
- Not be to namyt, gif he beire mo *than ij*,
Bot *thus* flowris florate to blase rycht.
thre thingis in armes 3it be lik *vtheris* evin, 156 Of Torteaux,
Tortes, tortell pellettis, pellett hecht, Tortell-pellets,
Fussewis,⁶ masklewis, *and* losingis *thus* plicht. and Pellets.
Be ther mony fussewis,⁷ masklewis⁸ *thaim* call, Of Fusils,
And losengis 3it in armys with-all. 160 Mascles, and
Lozenges.
- Ale maner of best to blase, sey 'be armit,'
and al birdis, sey 'membrit' sauffy :
Girphinne,⁹ baith bird *and* best, we suld call it
Call beasts
armed ;
birds, *membred* ;
griffins, *membred*
and armed.

¹ ? for 'enteir.'² ? for 'inurne.'³ lioncel. 'Lioncels, the Heralds Term for Lions, when there is more than Two of them born in any Coat of Arms, and no Ordinary between them; and 'tis all one with a small or young Lion.'—*Gloss. Angl. Nova*.⁴ MS on.⁵ ? fret or fess.⁶ ? MS 'Suffewis.' The same things elsewhere in the MS are called 'fusees' and 'fussel.'⁷ ? MS 'fuffewis.'⁸ mascle.⁹ Griffons.

- To blase, 'membrit *and* armyt' both Iustly. 164
 zit in armes, picles¹ *and* delphes espy.
 Billettis, hewmatis,² *and* ij indenturis be,
 Perpale cheveroune, perpale glondes to se.
- Legs and heads
 may be *erased*.
 [See note to l. 26.] Thire be also raschit, as lege or heid, 168
 wiche geïrondy³ verry *and* belly told : [?]
 In quhat metallis or colouris *that* thai sted,
 quhat thingis *thai* be, ful attently behold :
 ffigour, forme, flour, or quhat mater on mold, 172
 In armes set, *and* so blase discretly ;
 And quho sicke beris, study weil, *and* espy.
- 3hit sum haldis in armis ij certane thingis,
 You may blazon
 Ermine and
 Vair, furs of
 beasts, Nothir metallis nor colouris to blasoune, 176
 Ermyne *and* werr, callit panis, bestly furring,⁴
 And haldin so *without* *other* discripcioune.
 All attentik armys of hie renoune
 Of al estat^{is}, and general of al manis, 180
 Bene set in this metallis, colouris, *and* panys.
- which were found
 after the
 precious stones, Quhiche honorable in al armis forsaid,
 war first fundyn eftir *the* precieuse stanys,
 In nombyr few, and so costly araid, 184
 That al noblay may not gudly at anys
 Actene *ther*to : *than* law of armys disponys
 ffor *theme* be sett *and* portrait *with* pictouris,
 In feildis, *the* seid metallis *and* *ther* colouris ; 188
- that came first
 from Paradise. The quhiche stanis come first frome paradise,
 thairfor *thai* ar so precyus singlare.
 quha will study his wittis, *and* conterpace
- How planets, The hie planetis, and signis of the aire, 192
 Symylitudis of *thaim* he may fynd there
 ffor to blasoun, *and* als in bestiall,
 In erbis, foullis, *and* fischis *ther*withhall ;
- beasts, herbs, &c.,
 may be blazoned,

¹ ? for 'pikes.' ² humet. ³ gyronny.⁴ furs, called less properly *pann* (or cloth).

- How *thai* be born, in quhat kindis, *and* quhare, 196
 also be quhom, *and* eftir in excellence,
- That I refer to my lordis to declair,
 kingis of armes, *and* heraldis of prudens,
 and persewantis, *and* grant my negligens 200
that I suld not attempe *thus* to commounē,
 Bot of *ther* grace, correctiounē, *and* pardounē,
- fior, as I red, princis of nobillest mynd,
 And specialy *this* seid Iulius cesar, 204
ther attentik worthi ordour did fynd,
 fful honorable in erth, *and* necesser,
 To bere armes, blasounē, *and* to prefer
 Vthir officiaris in honour, as I schall 208
 Schaw causis quhy of *this* ordour regall,
- Quhiche ascendis, create be greis thre :
 first, persewant ; syn, herald ; *and* than king ;
 Ichone of *this* being gre aboue gre, 212
 Be land *and* see preuilegit in al thing,
 In werre *and* peice, batell, province *and* ring,
 Ceté, castellis, parliamentis prerogative,
 Amang princis trew reuerendaris to schrive. 216
- Oure al the warld, *and* erast Amang the best,
 thir preambulis *and* discripcionis procedis,
 all thingis be takin treuly as *thai* attest,
 ay liscenciat *and* lovit with al ledis, 220
 Noblis, vergynis, *and* wedois in *ther* nedis,
 Of holy chirche the sure feith *thai* support,
 At *ther* poweris causing to al consort.
- Withoutin quham, honerable actis in armis 224
 wirschipfully is seldin donne, we se,
 ffor ded of lif, fauour, hatrent, or harmis,
 Euer *thai* attest the verray verite,
 quhar na man may laubour for Inmyte, 228
 ther *thai* proced, euer schawing the best ;
 withouttin quham, quha mycht materis degest.
- I refer to my lords, the King of Arms, and Heralds,
 who were honoured by Julius Cæsar and other princes of the noblest mind.
 Of Heralds are 3 orders:
 1. Poursuivant.
 2. Herald.
 3. King, the highest.
 Heralds' decrees are obeyed by all, as Heralds are loved by all, are the protectors of all needy, and the support of Holy Church.
 Without Heralds great deeds of arms are seldom done.

This noble Order,	This hie ourdour noble <i>and</i> necessary, prince of peté, <i>and</i> Iuge amang gentrice,	232
movers of good,	most behuiffull tretaris of trowith no vary,	
wells of knowledge,	Mewaris of goud, <i>and</i> mesaris of malice, wellis of cunnyng, <i>and</i> trowit in kingly wise,	
	Mansuete maneryt so <i>ther</i> <i>meritis</i> requiris,	236
	Ther dewiteis al digniteis desiris.	
may God the Trinity, and the Blessed Virgin, save,	Señ it is so, <i>our</i> souerane Lord most hie, The thre personis resting in o godheid, and one in thre, <i>the</i> hali trinite,	240
	the blissit vergin of quhom god tuk manheid, Saif <i>this</i> ordour, prudently to proceid	
to promote love among Christian kings!	Amang kingis, princis, liegis <i>and</i> lordis ; Of cristindome to cause luf <i>and</i> concordis !	244
And my insufficiency, do you, Herald,	And I confess my simple insufficiens : Iltil haf I sene, <i>and</i> reportit weil less, of <i>this</i> materis to haf experience.	
	Tharfor, quhar I al neidful not express,	248
	In my waiknes, <i>and</i> not of wilfulnes, my seid lordis correk me diligent, To maid menis, or sey <i>the</i> remanent !	

NOTES TO A SCOTCH COPY OF A POEM ON HERALDRY.

This poem does not seem to have been originally written by a Scotchman : its English origin appears clearly from the phraseology, distinctions and conceits, e. g. the nomenclature of *roundles*, which was never adopted in Scotland, where the simpler phraseology employed in France was in use. The spelling (*quhill*, *quham*, &c.) is certainly often Scotch, but for that the Scotch transcriber, Loutfut, is doubtless answerable. Sir William Comyn (or Cumming), of Inverallochy, described in the heading of the poem Marchmont Herald, is best known as Lyon king of Arms from 1512 onwards, an office in which he seems to have immediately preceded Sir David Lyndsay. It is no small indication of the weight attached to Lyon's office, and the sacredness of his person, at that period, that in 1515 Lord Drummond, one of the most powerful of the Scotch nobles of his day, was declared guilty of treason, attainted, and sentenced to confinement in Blackness castle, for giving Comyn a blow with his fist, 'dum cum de ineptiis suis admoneret.' The poem seems to belong to a period later than Nicolas Upton (1440) and the Book of St Albans (1486), but must be earlier than Gerard Legh (1562), John Boswell (1572), and Sir John Ferne (1586), the three principal heraldic writers of the Elizabethan age. No very

old Scotch systematic treatises on Heraldry exist in print, and apparently none in manuscript, though there are numerous books of blazonry and illuminated collections of arms in MS. of the 16th century. Mackenzie in the 17th, and the more elaborate Nisbet in the 18th century, are the great Scotch authorities. Loutfut the transcriber had probably not been very thoroughly instructed in the science of arms, as he has mistaken words, and made blunders of copyism to such an extent that it is sometimes difficult to unravel the meaning of the text.

l. 46. 'Aglot,' a misreading for annulet, the usual difference for a fifth son. The 'eaglet,' or young eagle, for which the transcriber has taken the word, is a common bearing in English heraldry, though not one of the recognized marks of cadency.

l. 51-53. The mention of the settlement of Britain by Brutus is sufficient proof of the English origin of the poem. From the 14th century downwards, one of the principal points on which the hotly-contested question of Scottish independence was supposed to hinge, was whether the English story of the colonization of Britain by the sons of the Trojan hero Brutus was true or false. It was stoutly denied by the Scots, who traced the foundation of their nationality up to the Greek Gathelus and his wife Scotsa, the daughter of Pharaoh who protected the infant Moses; and no Scotsman of the 15th or 16th century would have given his *imprimatur* to the Brutus story.

l. 64-70. Four colours are proper, being pure colours: purple, being a mixed colour, is less proper though 'suffered' in arms: an assertion to be found in nearly similar words in various old French and Spanish as well as English works on arms. Numerical conceits were greatly in favour among the old heralds, and are a key to half the pedantries and anomalies that have crept into heraldic nomenclature and classification. *Four* and *fifteen* are numbers especially favoured by the author of this poem—and the impropriety of purple is set forth in order to show four to be the proper number of colours. A great many of the old writers on arms, including particularly Dame Juliana Berners and Gerard Legh, favour nine above all other numbers. It was three times the number of the Trinity,—there were nine virtues, nine orders of angels, nine muses, nine beatitudes, nine male worthies, and nine female worthies. The Book of St Albans says: 'This lawe of armys was founded on the IX order of angellys in heven encrownyd vith precyous stonys of colour and of vertues dyvers. Also of theym are fygyured the colours in armys.' Dame Juliana Legh, and other writers, to obtain their nine tinctures (colours and metals), bring in not only purple, which was rare, but sanguine and tenny, which were never in use. Sylvanns Morgan (1661), on the other hand, inclines to reject purple altogether, while Spelman exalts it above every other tincture. One of the results of this determination to resolve everything to nine, was the addition by Legh to the six marks of cadency in actual use, of the rose, crossmoline, and double quaterfoil, which were never really used. They are again rejected in the latest edition of Legh's 'Accedens,' as also by Boswell: but are nevertheless retained in many of the modern elementary works on Heraldry.

l. 96. One would almost be inclined to think that the word printed 'sie' must have been originally 'pale' rather than fess, or else that 'barris' stands for 'pales;' it seems unlikely that both bar and fess would be enumerated and pale omitted among the four things that 'brekis' arms; a more correct idea, by the way, of the common character of the 'Honourable Ordinaries' than is to be found in most of the old authorities.

l. 104-106. 'Thyse thre termes, Of, And, Wyth, shall not be reheryed in armis but onys ony of them.'—*Book of St Albans*.

'There are fower wordes, whereof you may not name any of them twice in the blazonne of one cote, & these be they: Of, On, And, With. These may

not be spoken any more than once in one cote : if they be, it is accompted such a fault, as he that committed the same is not worthy to blaze a cote.'—*Gerard Legh*.

l. 111. 'wyndows,' i. e. 'wounds.' Roundles purple are so called by Bosswell, the derivation being obvious. Most heralds prefer the name 'golpes.'

l. 127-134. Of the fifteen lions enumerated, the designations of the first and thirteenth are omitted, doubtless by the transcriber's oversight. As to the eleventh 'copray,' query if tricorporate?

l. 135-142. Of the fifteen crosses mentioned, the third is 'undy.' The fourth, 'paty,' is probably meant for 'patoncée,' formée (identical with patée) being separately enumerated. The specific character of the fifth is omitted; the fourteenth is 'raguly.' Is 'suecylle' (the fifteenth) 'resarcelée'? 'Sarcelée' had been already enumerated as the thirteenth cross.

l. 143-4. 'Verray' must surely stand for 'enurny,' the term used in French and sometimes in English heraldry for a bordure charged with any animal.

l. 152-155. These lines are unintelligible as they stand. It cannot be meant that fleurs-de-lis or pellets should not be named, or their number stated, if there are more than *two*. But if for "ij" we read "viij" the sense is at once apparent, as we come exactly to the dictum of the old heralds, and the word *eight* is an admissible rhyme to '*rycht*' in the succeeding line.

l. 156, 157, are a little obscure. Tortell pellets, according to the nomenclature of some old heralds, would be identical with pellets or roundles sable. If so, but two things are named, not three. Menestrier uses the term "tortean = besant," for a roundle parted per fess gules and or; and it is conceivable that the herald-poet may mean by *torteaux-pellets*, roundles parted per fess gules and sable : but in any view there seems little point in this passage.

l. 158-160 are also a little unsatisfactory. Fusils, mascles, and lozenges are of course things 'like utheris even'—but why should fusils, when multiplied in number, be called mascles? If however for the words 'fussewis,' 'masklewis,' in l. 159, and 'losengis' in l. 160, we read *fusilly*, *mascally*, *lozengy*, the sense is clear, viz. if there be many fusils, mascles or lozenges, blazon the field *fusilly*, *mascally* or *lozengy*.

l. 165. 'pictes,' i. e. pikes.

l. 166-169. This passage, though rather unintelligible as it stands, evidently refers to the division of the shield by partition lines, a subject which has been made the theme of much obscure pedantry by the early heralds, whose distinctions are by no means exactly observed by the poet. What 'glondes' stands for, I cannot make out. Two modes of dividing the field called 'pynnyons,' are given in the Book of St Albans, of which the latter is 'cheverounce, and that may be clawry, counterly, quarterly, gerery, and byally.' 'Gereri' is 'whan thre cheverounce be togyder or moo,' corresponding to our gyronny of six or of eight. 'Byally,' the word which appears as 'belly' in l. 169, is 'whan a barre is betwean two cheffrounce,' another variety of the gyronny of six of later heralds. l. 168 seems to say that a *partition line* may (as well as a leg or head) be 'raschit,' or erased. A line dancetté, or sometimes with indentations more like those of an erased head or leg, is called 'rasit' or erased by Upton, Dame Juliana, and Sir John Ferne. 'Gerondy' is, according to the Book of St Albans, 'gereri' (or gyronny of nine) with a fessitarget (i. e. an escutcheon of pretence) in the centre of the shield. 'Verry,' or *vairé*, is by the same authority enumerated, not as a fur only, but as a mode of parting the shield 'when the field is made like gobolettys of dyvers colours.' Along with checky and undy, it is enumerated as one of the 'Coat armoures grytty.'

Occlebe,

[Laud MS 735 (formerly K. 78), Bodl. Libr.]

¶ Of pridd & of waste clothyng^e of lordis mene,
 which is A-zens her Astate.¹ [No. 12.]

[leaf 67]

¶ I. wate wele, sone, of me þus wilt þou think :

“This old doted greseH hold hym^l wyse ;

He wenyth make in my hert synke

His lewde clappe, of which I sett no prys.

He is A nobuH prechour^l as [I] devyse !

Greet noys hath þurgh his chymynge lyppes drye ;

This day owt past the dewle in his ye.”

My son, to this
 complaint of
 mine you 'll say,
 ‘This old fool of a
 grizzle thinks
 himself very wise,
 but I don't mind
 his stupid
 clapper!’

¶ But thogh y hold *and* hore be now, sone myn,

And pore be my clothing^e And Aray,

And not so wyde A gwon^e As is thyn,

So smaH y-pynchyd, ne so fressH *and* gay ;

My rede, in hap, zett the profyte may ;

And likly, þat þow demyst for foly,

Is g[r]etter wisdom^l þan þou canst Aspy.

8 However, though
 I am hoar and
 poor,

12 [leaf 67, back]
 my counsel may
 profit you.

¶ Vndir An olde pore Abyte regneth ofte

Grete vurtew, thogh it mostre poorely ;

And wher^l as grete Aray is vp-on loft,

Vice is but seldom hid ; þat wele wote I.

Butt not reporte, I. pray þ^e Inwardly,

That fressH Aray y. generally deprave ;

þ^{es} worthi men^l mow fuH weel it have.

16 An old coat often
 covers virtue ;

while a fine one
 hides vice.

20 But I don't run
 down new
 clothes ;

¹ See Fairholt's *Costume in England*, p. 139 : and my ed.
 of *Hymns to the Virgin and Christ*, p. x, p. 62, l. 129-32.

only, it is an
abuse for a man
to wear a scarlet
robe 12 yards
wide, and sleeves
hanging on the
ground, with £20
worth of fur on
'em.

¶ Butt þ^{is} me thynkith an) Abusion),
To sene one walke in A robe of scarlet
xij 3erdis wide, *with* pendaunt slevis down) 24
On) the ground, and þ^e furrur þer-in sette,
Amountyngⁱ vn-to xx.li. or bette ;
And 3ef he for it payd, hath he no good
Lefte hym) wherⁱ *with* to by hym-selff An) hood. 28

Such a man

has an empty
purse, and only
what he stands
upright in.

¶ For thogh he gete forth A-mongⁱ the prees,
And ouere-looke euere poore wighte,
His cofre *and* eke his purs I. trow be peneles ;
He hath no more than) he goth yn vp-righte ; 32
For lond, rent, or cateH, he may go lyghte ;
The weghte of hem) shaH not so mych peyse
As doth his gown) ! is such Aray to prayse ?

It stinks in my
nostrils to see
such a poor
beggar imitate
his lord !

¶ Nay sothly, sone, it is aH mys, me thynkith ! 36
So poorⁱ A wight his lord to contrefett
In) his Aray ! yn) my conceyt it styngith !
Certes, to blame bene þ^e lordes grete,
3ef þat, I. durst sey, they herⁱ men) lete 40
Vsurpe such lordly Apparayle.
It is not worthy, my child, *with*-out fayle.

In old time you
could tell a Lord
by his dress ;
but now you
hardly can.

¶ Some [tyme] A-farre men) myghte lordes know
By herⁱ Aray from) oþer folk, or now. 44
A man) shaH stodye or musyn) now A longⁱ throw
Which is which. O lordes ! it sittes to 3ow !
Amend this ! for it is for 3ourⁱ prow.
3ef by-twen) 3ow *and* 3ourⁱ men) no defference 48
Be [in] þyn) Aray, lesse is 3ourⁱ reuerence.

[leaf 68]
Another great
waste is, to use a
yard of broad
cloth in a man's
tippet.

It incites to
stealth, and
Hempen Lane.

¶ Also þer is anotherⁱ newe Iett,
A fowle wast of cloth, *and* excessyf :
Therⁱ goth no lasse in A mannes typettⁱ 52
þan) of brode cloth A 3erd, be my lyf !
Me thynkith þ^{is} A verrey indultyf
Vn-to þ^e stelth. were hem) of hempen) lane !
For stelth is medid *with* A chekelew bane. 56

- ¶ Let euere lorde his Awn men defende
 Such gret Aray; And þan, on my peryH,
 This lande *with*in A while soon shaH Amende.
 Now, in goddes name, put it in exile! 60
 Hit is synne outrageous And vyle!
 Lordis! if 3e 3our' Astate *and* honour'
 Loven, flemyth this vicious errour'!
- ¶ What is A lord *with*-oute his mene?
 I. putt case, þat his foos hym Asayle
 Sodenly in þ^e strete: what helpp shaH he
 Whos sleeves encombrous so syde trayle,
 Do to his lorde? he may hym not Avayle! 64
 In such A case he nys but A woman;
 He may not stande hym *in*-stede of a man.
 Suppose a Lord
 is attacked in
 the street.
 What help can a
 man with these
 wide sleeves
 give him? 68
 The man's only
 a woman!
- ¶ His Armes twoo have righte y-now to don,
 And sumwhat more, his sleeves vp to hold.
 The tayllours, y trowe, mote her'-after sone
 Shape in þ^e feld; þ^{ei} shuH not shape *and* folde
 On her' boord, þogh þ^{ei} neuer so fayn wolde;
 The cloth þat shaH be in A gown wroghte,
 Take an hole cloth is best, for lasse is noghte. 72
 His arms have
 more than enough
 to do in holding
 up his sleeves.
 Tailors 'll soon
 be obliged to cut
 out their clothes
 in a field. 76
- ¶ The skynner vn-to þ^e felde mote Also;
 His hous in london is so streyt *and* scars
 To don his crafte. sum tyme it was not so. 80
 O lordes! 3eve 3e vn-to 3our' men her' pars
 That so don, and queynt hem bett *with* mars,
 God of bateH! he loveth now Aray
 That hurtith manhod at preffe or Assay. 84
 And Skinners
 must take to
 fields too for
 their craft.
 Lords, make your
 men know Mars
 better!
- ¶ Who now most may bere on his bak at ons
 Off cloth And furrour', hath a fressH renoun;
 He is 'A lusty man' clepyd for the nones.
 Butt drapers And eke skynners in þ^e town
 For such folke han A speciaH orison
 That florisshid is *with* curses here *and* there,
 And Av shaH til þ^{ei} be payd of her' were. 88
 [leaf 68, back]
 But don't the
 drapers curse him
 till he pays for
 his gear!

- Whilom, small dress,
full households;
now, lean households,
outrageous array,
- ¶ In day[e]s olde, whan smaH ApparaiH
Suffised vn-to hy Astate or mene,
Was grete howsholde stuffid with vitaiH;
But now howsholdes be full scars and lene,
For AH þ^e good þat men may repe and glene, 92
Waystid is in outrageous Aray,
So þat howsoldis men ne holde may. 96
- but hungry bellies,
- ¶ Pride hath weel levere bere An hungry maw
To bed, þan lak of Aray outrage; 100
He no price settith by mesures law,
Ne takith of hym cloth, [ne] mete, ne wage;
Measure is owt of land on pilgrimage;
Butt I. suppose he shaH restore as blyve, 104
For verrey nede wol vs þer-to dryve.
- As Lords set the fashion,
- ¶ Ther' may no lord take vp no new gyse,
Butt þat A knafe shaH þ^e same vp take.
þan, 3ef lordes wolden in this wisse 108
For to do such gownes for hem make
As men did in old tyme, I. vndirtake
The same get wold vp be take and vsyd,
And aH þ^e costlew owtrage refusid. 112
- let Lords wear quiet gowns, as of old;
other folk would follow, and give up costly extravagance.
- [Follows:—**Nota bene þ^e good duke of loncastre.** [N^o] 13.
¶ Off loncastre duke Iohn whos savle in heven.]

Tippet, l. 52, p. 106. '*Tippet*. The pendent streamer from the arm (p. 98), the extra cape or covering for the shoulders. The long pendant from the arm (See *Liripipe*).

"On holydayes before her he wold go
With his *tippet* bound about his head."

Chaucer: Reeve's Tale; in Fairholt's *Costume in England*, p. 598.

'To the pendent streamers from the hood were now added others from the elbow. They first appear as narrow elongations from the sleeve of the upper-tunic or cote-hardie; they afterwards assume the form of long narrow strips of white cloth, and were called *tippets*, generally reaching from the elbow to the knee, or lower.'—*ib.* p. 98.

EXTRACT FROM

Sir Peter Idle's Directions to his Son,

(Camb. Univ. Lib. MS, Ee 4, 37.)

Lete thy tonge not clakke as a mille,	Don't let your tongue clack like a mill,
Medle not of eche mannes matere ;	
Kepe <i>within</i> thi breste that may be stille ; ¹	
In tauernes also, not clappe ne clater.	4 or clatter in taverns.
Wade not so depe into the water	
But þat þou may com out at thyñ owne plesir,	
And not tabide thyñ enemys leisour'.	
Therefore be not talewyse in no manere ; ²	8 Don't be censorious.
In worde be ware, it is harde to triste ;	
Telle neuer the more, though þou moche hire ;	
Kepe in cloos, as tresour' in cheste.	
And be þou lowely and honest	12 Be lowly and respectful.
To riche and pouere, in worde and dede,	
And then thy name to worshyp shall sprede.	
³ What man þou serve, Loke þou hym drede ;	16 Take care of your master's goods as your own.
His goode as thyñ, þou kepe and spare ;	
Lete neuer thy will thy witte ouerlede ;	
Be lowly in seruice, and love his welfare ;	
And if þou wilt be out of drede and care,	
Restreyne and kepe well thy tonge :	20 Restrain your tongue.
Thus, childe, lerne while ye be yonge.	
Be true in worde, werke, and dede, ⁴	
And flee doublenes in all wyse.	Flee doubleness.
Throghe all the worlde in lengthe and brede,	24
Gretter vertues can no man devise,	
And sonnest to worship causeth mañ to rise.	

¹ What ought to be kept quiet.² See The Wise Man in *Babees Book*, p. 49, l. 26.³ Compare lines 5—7 of p. 34 of *Babees Book*.⁴ See *Babees Book*, p. 19, l. 39.

- Don't invent stories. Be not Autour also of tales newe,
For callyng to rehersaill, lest þou it rewe. 28
- Al-so, sone, this lesson y the leere :
- Mind what you say to people : To whom þou speke, haue goode mynde,
And of whom, how, when, and where ;
- a friend now may be a foe to-morrow. For now a frende, thus sone unkynde. 32
Therefore, wher euer þou Ride or wende,
¹ Speke cloos all thyng, as thombe in fiste,
And euer be ware of hadd-y-wyste.
- Joke with your equals only. ² If thow shalt borde, Iape *with* thy peere, 36
And leue thy pleye whan it is beste,
- Put up with a hard word. And suffre a grete worde, for manere ;
For better is the tree þat bowe þan breste ;
It is an unclene birde defouleth his neste ; 40
- Learn courtesy and virtue. Therefore, as a gentilman lerne curtesie and vertu ;
All honour and worshipping therof shall sue.
- Don't laugh when your mates are rebuked. Thoughþe thy feelowe in defaute be founde,
Make therof no laugheng, sporte, ne Iape ; 44
For ofte tymes it doith rebounde
Vppon hym þat list to crie and gape.
Vse not to scorne and moeke as an Ape ;
For he þat list suche folies for to vse, 48
Alle honest felawship hym woll refuse.
- Keep your clothes cleaun, Looke, suche clothying as þou shalt weere,
Keepe hem as clenly as þou can,³ 52
And all the Rememant of thy geere ;
- (for they oft make a man,) and as pure as flour bolted from the bran. For clothying ofte maketh man.⁴ 56
Be as pure as flour taken fro the bran
In all thy clothying and al þyn arraye ;
But goo not to ouer nyce gay.

¹ ? for Kepe. ² Cp. lines 13—16, p. 34 of *Babees Book*.

³ See *Babees Book*, l. 161-8.

⁴ See Cotgrave's "Graue clothes make dunces often seeme great clarkes" (under *fol*), *Babees Book*, Pt. II., p. 72, col. 2.

NOTES TO QUEENE ELIZABETHES ACHADEMY.

p. 3. *Sir John Cheke, and English*.—And here I must add, that he laboured much in the restoration of our English language. Dr Wylson asserted, that he had better skill in our English speech, to judge of the phrases and properties of words, and to divide sentences, than any else had that he knew; and that he was thought, by some judicious men, greatly to have improved the language by a practice he had, when he read his Greek lectures, to take the book, and only looking upon the Greek, to read it into English; whereby he did not only give a clearer understanding unto the author, but enabled his hearers the better to judge of the things, and to perfect their tongue and utterance, as was remembered before.”—*Strype's Life of Cheke*, p. 162.

p. 6. *Statute touching Multiplication*.—The statute alluded to is 5 Hen. IV. cap. 5.—“It is ordained and stablished, That none from henceforth shall vse to multiply Gold or Silver, nor use the Craft of *Multiplication*: And if any the same do, and be thereof attaint, that he incur the Pain of Felony in this Case.” “*Multiplication of Gold or Silver*, the Art of encreasing those Metals, which in the Time of K. Henry IV was presum'd possible to be effected by means of Elixirs, or other Chymical Compositions, and therefore forbidden to be put in Practice, under Pain of being liable to the Punishment of Felony, by a Statute made in the fifth Year of his Reign.”—*Kersey's Phillips*, ed. 1706.

p. 7. *Dispensation against the Statute of Roges*.—“Fencers” are mentioned in the list of persons who are to be deemed “Roges and Vacaboundes,” in 14 Eliz. cap. 5. sec. 5 (A. D. 1572): “and all Fencers, Bearewardes, Comon Players in Enterludes, and minstrels, not belonging to any Baron of this Realme, or towards any other honorable Personage of greater Degree.”

p. 7. *Bandora*. A large instrument of the lute kind, with six strings of wire, invented in 1562, says Hawkins, *Hist. Mus.*, by John Rose, citizen of London, dwelling in Bridewell. Heywood, in his *Fair Maid of the Exchange*, compares a lady's hair to “bandora wires.” The Bandora was much used in Elizabeth's reign, especially with the Cittern, to which it formed the appropriate base.—*Chappell's Popular Music*, i. 224, note a; ii. 776. ‘The name of the instrument is from the *πανδούρα*, which the Greeks borrowed from the ancient Egyptians. That was also a long-necked instrument of the same kind, but with three *gut* strings. This is called “a Guitar” by Sir Gardner Wilkinson in his *Ancient Egyptians*’ (Mr Chappell's MS. Note). The *Cittern* was in shape somewhat like the English guitar of the 18th century, but had only four double strings of wire, that is, two to each note. The *Lute* has been superseded by the guitar, though in tone it is decidedly superior to the guitar, being larger, and having a convex back nearly resembling the vertical section of a pear. It had virtually six strings, because, although the number was 11 or 12, five at least were doubled; the first, or treble, being sometimes a single string.—*Chappell*, i. 101-2.

p. 8. *Marte*. ‘He alludes to the foreign Book-Fairs.’—H. ELLIS.

GLOSSARIAL INDEX.

NOTE.—Where two numbers occur, as 96/76, the first refers to the page, the second to the numbered line on that page. The above reference will be p. 96, l. 76 of the Poem on Heraldry.

- ABROCHE, 79/3, 'To set abroche,' to tap.
- Abusion, 106/22, abuse.
- Aduert, 97/88, 98/132
- Aduertence, 79/12, 'Hathe none aduertence' = gives no attention.
- Adouure, 29, 30. Patron. *See* Avowry *and note*, p. 30.
- Aglot, 95/46, annulet. *See note*, p. 95, 103.
- Allege, 3, Allege, refer to, quote.
- Allonli, 66/24, only, alone.
- Amathis, 96/76, amethyst.
- Ambes ase, 81/52, the two aces, the lowest throw in the dice; bad luck.
- 'Your bagges be not filld with *ambes ace*.' Chaucer, 4544.
- And, 29, if.
- And, in Heraldry, 97/104-6, and note, p. 103.
- Apallyd, 83/119. Ale appallyd = weak or thin Ale = small beer.
- Appose, 3, to question, pose.
- 'Whon þe peple him *a-posed* with a peny in þe Temple.' *P. Plow.* Pass. I., 45. Ed. Skeat.
- Armit, 99/161, armed of a different colour from the rest of the body;—said of animals generally.
- A-sele, 80/16, to seal; to stamp.
- 'All Brewsters and Gannokers [to] selle a gallon [of] ale, of the best, be measure *a-selyd*, for 1*d.* ob.' *P. Parv.*, p. 186, note.
- A-sesythe, 83/135. The *Harl.* MS. probably gives the correct reading—*ensealed*.
- Assaye, 13, 17, 'tasting of food to try whether there is poison in it.'
- Asterte, 97/89?
- Asur, 96/66, azure, one of the heraldic colours. 'Asur, the saphir set,' 96/75
- Attemperance, 65/11, moderation, temperance.
- Audur, 86/16, either.
- Avowry, 33. Cognizance, badge, distinction. *See note*, p. 30.
- Awcomistrie, 6, alchemy, alchemy.
- Awles, 85/17; 88/6, aweless; without reverence.
- Awndi, 99/137, undeé, wavy; a kind of eross in heraldry. *See note*, p. 104.
- Awne, 47/112, own.
- Awreke, 68/19, avenged.
- Bandora, 7. A kind of lute with six strings. *See note*, p. 111.
- Barbe, 26, a hood, or muffler, which covered the lower part of the face.
- Barris, 97/96, bars: a bar is an ordinary which crosses the shield horizontally: it occupies one-fifth of the field.

- Barves, 30.
- Bastone, 98/118, baton ; a bar on an escutcheon, usually denoting bastardy.
- Batone, 99/139 ? *Cross patonée* ; i. e. a cross fleurie expanded. See note, p. 104.
- Bawdkyn, 35, a precious kind of stuff.
- Belly, 100/169, Byally is when a bar is between two chevrons. See note, p. 104.
- Belwedyr, 84/147, bell-wether.
- Bendis, 98/113, bends ; a bend is an ordinary crossing the shield diagonally from the dexter chief to the sinister base.
- Besentis, 98/109, a circle in *or*, i. e. gold, representing the coin a bezant.
- Beste, 29, beast, i. e. crest. See note, p. 37.
- Bestiall, 100/194, pertaining to animals. Not used in a bad sense.
- Bestly, 100/177, of beasts.
- Better, 19 ; 58/7, a superior in rank.
- Billetis, 100/166 ; a billet is a bearing of a rectangular oblong figure.
- Blawmanger, 90, blanchmange.
- Blyve, 108/104, quickly.
- Bookish, 4, bookish circumstances = rules found in books ; theories.
- Borias, 81/54, boreas, the north wind.
- Borowurd, 68/14, borrowed.
- Botand, 99/139, ? a kind of cross in heraldry.
- Braydythe, 82/86. 'Whos promys braydythe on duplicite' = whose promise is founded on duplicity.
- Brownte, 81/54, burnt, brunt.
- Bryste, 50/188, bright, showy.
- Bwn, xiii, Bum. See *Jamieson*.
- Bye, 62/184, 'Set pem not bye.' To honour. He that setteth not by himself, but is lowly in his own eyes. *Psa. xv. 4, P. B. vers.*
- Byteres, 91, bitterns.
- Callot, 40/29, a scold or drab.
- Cambatand, 98/134, a kind of lion in heraldry. Two rampant lions, face to face, are said to be *combatant*.
- Cambrel, 43/144, gambrel, a crooked piece of wood used by butchers. See note, p. 43.
- Canne, 60/124, can, a vessel.
- Canne, 58/76, knowest.
- Canonrie, 4, gunnery.
- Cassidone, 96/77, chalcedony.
- Certeyne, 30, a certeyne of innocentes = a certain number of children.
- Chalain, xx, ? claim.
- Chare de wardon, 91. ? Apple marmalade. See note 2, p. 91.
- Chekelew, 106/56. The Digby MS, according to Halliwell, reads *chokelew* ; choking, strangling.
- Cheveroune, 97/96, chevron, an honourable ordinary in heraldry, representing two rafters of a house meeting at the top.
- Childe, 34, shield.
- Chimice, 5, chemical.
- Chyffe, 79/9, chief.
- Clappe, 105/4, chatter.
- Clowrys, 81/44, bareyne clowrys = barren fields.
- Comodities, 10, advantages.
- Connynge, 69/50, knowledge.
- Contacowre, 66/36, a quarrelsome person.
- Conterpace, 100/191, ? counterpoise ; weigh, ponder over, consider.

Convalit, 93/2, to increase, grow strong.

Copy, 98/132, *couped*. When a portion of any animal is cut clean off, it is said to be *couped*. See next.

Copray, 98/131, one of the kinds of lions used in heraldry. Query *coupé*, Fr. See note, p. 104.

Cornyfyn ? xx.

Coronell, ix (Span.), Colonel.

Costlew, 108/112, costly.

Costrel, 38. *Costrel*, bottle-holder, attendant; from Costrell, a bottle of earth or wood, having ears by which it was suspended at the side. "A youth, that, following with a *costrel*, bore
The means of goodly welcome, flesh and wine."—*Tennyson*.
Webster's Dict. by Mahn.

Cottage, 38, doing cottier's work.

Covente, 79/2, convent, company.

Courne, 49/148, corn. See Stryte.

Conter changit, 98/132, counter-changed. *Counter-changed*, in heraldry, is when there is a mutual changing of the Colours of the Field and Charge in an Escutcheon, by reason of one or more Lines of Partition.—*Gloss. Angl. Nov.*

Creme boylle, 91, boiled cream.

Cowert, 98/133, coward. One of the kinds of lions in heraldry; a lion with its tail between its legs.

Crache, 58/63, scratch.

Cressent, 95/44. A crescent in heraldry is the half-moon with the horns turned upward. A second son differences his arms with a crescent.

Crosolat, 99/139, crosslet, one of the kinds of crosses used in heraldry; it has each of its limbs crossed.

Crustades, 90, a dish in cookery.

Crysdom, 57/26, Christendom.

Cryspes frye3, 91, fried crisps or

batter-cakes. The recipe in *Forme of Cury*, p. 99, is:
xxvi. For to make cryppys. Nym flour and wytyys of eyryn, sugur other hony, and sweyng togedere, and make a batour: nym wyte grees, and do yt in a posnet, and cast the batur thereyn, and stury to thou have many [till it will run into lumps, I suppose, *Pegge*: ? till thou have mixture], and tak hem up, and messe hem wyth the frutours, and serve forth. Cp. 'crespes et vielz sucre,' *Le Ménagier de Paris*, ii. 92; 'pastés de chappons, et crespes,' *ib.* p. 94; and the recipes for making 'crespes' and 'Crespes à la guise de Tournay,' *ib.* p. 226.

Cuchand, 98/129, couchant; lying down, but with the head erect.

Cytterne, 7, 111, a musical instrument something like a guitar.

Decree, 23, 25, degree, rank.

Defferent, 95/43. A distinction. See note 1, p. 95.

Delice, 95/47, = de-lis, fleur-de-lis.

Delphes, 100/165; a delf in heraldry is a square borne in the middle of an escutcheon, supposed to represent a square rod or turf; an abatement of honour. See *Bailey*.

Demolyn, 99/141, a kind of cross used in heraldry: a *cross moline* has its extremities formed like a *fer de moline* or mill rind; i. e. each limb is divided at the end.

Departysown, 84/151, separation.

Deprave, 105/20, run down: speak lightly of.

Destreche, 53/30, ? constrain.

Det, 96/74, ? Of debt, duly, necessarily. *P. Parv.*

Devid, 98/117, divide.

Dewle, 105/7 ? Dewle or devylle, Diabolus. *P. Parv.*

- Dext, 35, desk, the Litany or fald-stool.
- Domesman, 88/3, doomsman ; judge.
- Domusnane, 85/14, doomsman ; judge.
- Dormand, 98/130, asleep, with its head resting between its legs ; *dormant*.
- Doucetis, 91, small custards or pasties.
- Dowle, 32, dole, or mourning.
- Drapers, 107/88.
- Dronglew, 82/91, drunken.
And is not *dronkeleuh* ne deynous.
P. Plow. Pass. ix. 75. ed. Skeat.
- Dyaburde, 92, diapered.
- Egretys, 91, egret, a kind of heron.
Halliwell.
- Elenge, 66/5. This word is still heard in Kent, where the meaning is lonely, or solitary. In *P. Plow.* we meet with it as an adverb :—
Alisaundre, that al wan
Elengliche ended.
P. Plough. 7531. ed. Wright.
- Emeraut, 96/76, emerald.
- Endorsit, 98/131, endorsed in heraldry is when two lions are borne in an escutcheon rampant, and turning their backs to each other : *ad-dorsed*.
- Endosyd, 79/8, endorsed.
- Enfamynynd, 80/36, hungry.
- Engrelit, 99/136, engrailed ; indented with curved lines.
- Erast, 101/217, chiefly, firstly.
- Erneful, 66/5, yearning, anxious.
- Exigente, 79/4, ? difficulty.
- Exquisitely, 7, well ; in a superior manner.
- Fage, 81/66, to deceive by falsehood or flattery.
- Fail, 12, a woman's upper garment.
- Fanyng, 34, ? refers to the *banners* being held.
- Farsed, 84/160, filled, stuffed.
- Feces, 98/113. Fesses are bands drawn horizontally across the centre of an escutcheon.
- Feir, } 99/137, 140, company.
Fere, } See note 1, p. 99.
- Felle, 94/16. Fell and wit, cleverness and intelligence.
- Fene, 87/20, to feign or fancy.
- Fess, for *sic*, 98/96. ? fess : see note, p. 103, on l. 96.
- Ffesaunte, 90, pheasant.
- Ffet, 99/150, fess ?
- Ffrumenty with Veneson, 90, ep. 'Desserte : fromentée et venoison.' *Le Ménagier de Paris*, ii. 108. Again at the wedding of maistre Jehan de Hautecourt : 'Fromentée, venoison, poires et noix. *Nota* que pour la fromentée convendra trois cens œufs,' *ib.* p. 121. Also, p. 97, &c. (See the Index.)
- Ffruter lumbarde, 92, fritters à la Lombarde, an ancient dish. See the recipe for *Leche Lombard* in *Babees Book* Index, p. 95, col. 2, from *Forme of Cury*, p. 36 ; and see *Nares* under *Lumber* : also *Frutour lumbert*, at an Oxford dinner, 1452 A.D. *Reliq. Ant.* i. 88.
- Fichye, 99/140, crois fichye means a cross fichée, that is, having the lower limb pointed.
- Flarait, 99/138, *fleurie*, a *cross fleurie* is a cross with fleurs-de-lis issuing from the limbs ; but a *cross fleurettée* may be intended. They are almost identical.
- Florate, 99/155 ?
- Fold, 98/122, folk.
- Foltysshe, 81/53 ; foltishe, 82/90 ; 83/120, foolish.
- Foreman, 25

- Forten, 63/215, fortune ; happen.
- Fourmes, 33, forms, seats.
- Fovrmie, 99/140, formée. A cross-formée is a cross small in the centre and widening towards the extremities.
- Foys, 61/170, foes.
- Foysoun, 84/148, nourishment. 'The natural juice or moisture of the grass.'—*Hallivell*.
- Frary, 79/6, friary.
- Fremde, 44/22, a stranger.
- Frontlet, 26, a forehead band.
- Frow, 39/6, fro, from.
- Furnishes, 6, furnaces.
- Fussewis, 99/158, fusils. A fusil in heraldry is an elongated lozenge. See note, p. 104.
- Gase, a gase, 46/61 ; to gaze, or a-gazing.
- Gelee, 90, jelly.
- Gentrice, 102/232, gentry.
- Gerondy, 100/169. Gyronny, covered with gyrons, or divided so as to form several gyrons ; said of an escutcheon. See note, p. 104.
- Geton, 29. 'Getoun, a banner, properly two yards in length.' See p. 29, note.
- Girphinne, 99/163, griffons.
- Gittovnis, 93/10, Getoun, a banner, properly 2 yards in length : p. 29, note.
- Glondes, 100/167 ? (See note, p. 104.)
- Goldy, 96/73, 'Stonne goldy, as thopasis' = gold-coloured stone as the topaz.
- Golpes, 104/5.
- Gordoll, 40/41, girdle.
- Goulis, 96/66, gules ; one of the heraldic colours : red. Goulis ruby, 97/92.
- Grauntechare, 92. See note 2, p. 92.
- Gre, 101/212, degree, rank.
- Greis, 101/210. 'Greis thre,' three orders.
- GreseH, 105/2, a grizzle, a grumbler.
- Gryce, 39/16, a young pig : 'a nantyny gryce,' a Saint Anthony's pig.
- Guidon, 32, a kind of standard. See p. 29, note.
- Gyglot, 45/49, a giddy romping girl.
- Habattes, 33, habits.
- Hady-wist, 42/120, 110/35 = had I wist, that is, 'Had I known,' I wouldn't have done it ; an expression of regret.
- Hafter, 87/41. See note 3, p. 87.
- Hallow, 11, to halloo.
- Harowlde, 8, herald.
- Harrowldrie, 8, heraldry.
- Hatrent, 101/226, hatred.
- Haute grece, 90, Capon of, high fat ; very fat capon.
- Have, 84/148, haue.
- Hempen Lane, 106/55, the gal-lows.
- Heronne-sewis, 99/147, herons.
- Heronsewe, 90, 91, the heron or heronshaw.
- Heroune, 99/144, heron.
- Hepene, hence.
- Hewe, 68/21, hew, chop (as chips will fly into your eye).
- Hewmatis, 100/166. Humettée in heraldry is a term applied to a chevron : a cross humettée is one of which the limbs do not extend to the limits of the shield.
- Hoddys, 33, hoods.
- Holbeardes, 5, halberds.
- Horlde, 57/40.
- Hote, 65/18, promise.

- Hothe, 54/81, oath.
- Hurtis, 98/111, hurtis, in heraldry, are roundels azure.
- Hye, 63/225. In hye, quickly.
- I, 95/51, in.
- Iangelynge, 44/22, 66/9, jangling.
- Iett, 106/50, device, fashion.
- Iettyng, 66/9, Jutting, strutting, proud.
- Indenturis, 100/166, indentations. In heraldry there are two sorts distinguished by the largeness of the teeth; the smaller are said to be *indented*; the larger *dancettée*.
- Indulytf, 106/54. Halliwell glosses this word 'Indulgence; luxury:' its meaning clearly is inducement, incitement, which follows naturally from the meaning, 'license.'
- Inginer, 4, engineer.
- Invre, 70/84, inure, accustom, associate.
- Iowe, 80/35, jaw.
- Knawe, 80/40, knave.
- Labelle, 95/44, label; in heraldry a fillet with pendants, or points, usually three. An eldest son differences his arms with a label.
- Lamber, 84/142, lambs.
- Leche, 42/102, a physician.
- Leche dalmayn, 90; Leche damasque, 91; Leche florce, 90; Leche lumbarde, 91; Leche maskeleyn, 92; Leche rubby, 92. The name of a dish. The term *leche* is applied to those dishes which were served up in slices. See *Prompt. Parv.* and Halliwell, s. v. *leche*.
- Ledis, 101/220, people.
- Leiff, 97/86, leaf (of a book).
- Lene, 85/7, lend.
- Lerid, 65/21, learned.
- Lete lardes, 91. See note 11, p. 91.
- Lewid, 65/21, lewd, ignorant.
- Lifte, 31, left, in opposition to right.
- Linth, 94/30, length.
- Lionne-sewys, 99/147, lioncels; in heraldry a small lion, especially one of several borne in the same coat of arms, is called a lioncel. See note, p. 99.
- Liscenciati, 101/220, licensed, permitted.
- Losingis, 99/158, lozenges: in heraldry a lozenge is a diamond-shaped figure. See note, p. 104.
- Loutyng, 84/155, bowing, stooping.
- Lucyant, xix, bright, shining.
- Lure, 11, to call a hawk or other animal.
- Lyth, 45/38. 'Lith or limb,' a phrase meaning joint or limb, that is, any part of the body.
- Malaparte, 80/37, saucy, bold.
- Male, 84/159, budget, bag, portmanteau.
- Mameny ryall, 91, the name of a dish. See *Babees Book*, p. 53.
- Mansuete, 102/236, gentle.
- Marte, 8, a book fair.
- Mase, 46/62 ? the maze = the greatest news, or wonder. See Halliwell, s. v. *mase*.
- Masklewis, 99/158, mascles. A mascle is a lozenge voided, i. e. a hollow lozenge. See note, p. 104.
- Medid, 106/56, rewarded.
- Mellous, 66/12, to contrast with *meri*, as 'loth' with 'liberal' above it. Medlous, medelus, *Babees Book*, p. 9, 12; meddlesome, troublesome.
- Membrit, 99/162, membered, having a different tint from that of the body;—said of the beak and

legs of a bird which is not a bird of prey.

Mene, 48/130, } servants.
Men-eze, 48/125, }

Merkis, 93/13; 95/54, signs or marks.

Merl, 95/45, martlet, a bird without feet or beak. A fourth son differences his arms with a martlet.

Mesaris, 102/234, ? spoilers, ? messers. ? missers (void of).

Mesures, 108/101, moderations.

Mewaris, 102/234, movers.

Militare, 2, military.

Mold, 100/172, earth, world.

Molet, 95/45, mullet, i. e. a spurrowel. A third son differences his arms with a mullet.

Mordand, 98/129, mordant.

Morné, 98/133, said of a lion without teeth, claws, or tail.

Mosellis, 43/149, morsels.

Mownter in mantel, 92, the name of an ancient dish. ? What.

Multiplication, 6. See note, p. 111.

Musyn, 106/45, Muse, pore over.

Mwyd, vp mwyd, 83/133, mewed up, confined.

Mys-chewe, 85/5, come to misfortune.

Myssey, 47/104, to revile, abuse (*mis-say*).

Al-swa þai sal ilkan other wery,
And *myssay* and sclaundre God
allemyghty.

Hampole, P. of C. 9424.

Nantyny, S. Anthony, 39/16.

Nemyl, 83/108, nimble, capable,
Halliwell s. v. *amel*.

Nesschie, 64/241, soft.

Nomer, 98/133. See note, p. 103.

Nonbles, 90, numbles; the entails of a deer.

Nones, 107/87, nonce; the present time, or time being.

Nyse, 69/33, foolish.

Nyte, 94/33, deny.

In battle ne in tournament

He *nytyde* us never with naye.

Halliwell.

Odour, 64/236, 96/69, either.

Oneste, 63/213, honesty.

Oneste, 70/72, honest.

Orped, 66/14, bold.

Ouer-sene, 49/164, overcome, drunk. 'Almost drunk, somewhat *ouerscene*.' Cotgr. quoted by Halliwell.

Pale, 62/200. 'By pales or by pale.'? By palace or by fence; or, by palace or by pales, which often form the park fence.

Pales, 98/113. A pale is a broad, perpendicular stripe in an escutcheon, equally distant from the two edges and occupying one third of it.

Panis, Panys, 100/177, 181. Pann, cloth. See note, p. 100.

Pars, 107/81, parts, duties.

Passand, 98/128, passant; walking; a term applied to any animal on a shield which appears to walk leisurely.

Pasty, 58/83, pasty.

Paty, 99/137. A cross patée is a cross small at the centre and widening towards the extremes. See note, p. 104.

Paust, 32, ? motto.

Pawilles, 35, palls, cloths of gold.

Peces, 35, "armyd att all peces" = fully armed.

Pedigrues, 8, pedigrees.

Pellett, 99/153, 157. A roundel sable is termed a pellett. See note, p. 104.

Penselles, 30, 33, small banners.

- Perbend, 98/116, same as bend.
 Per cheveroune, 98/117. *See* Chevron, and note, p. 104.
 Perfess, 98/116. *See* Fess.
 Perl, 96/74, pearl.
 Perpale, 98/114. *See* Pales.
 Perpure, 96/66, purple.
 Persewantis, 101/200, pursuivants.
 Phistiloes, 5, fistulas.
 Pictes, 100/165, ? pikes, *n.*, p. 104.
 The MS may be read *putes*; if so, Mr H. H. Gibbs would correct it to *pintes*, points; for a *point* is one kind of 'abatement' in arms, and a *Delph* is another.
 Plateis, 98/109. Roundels argent are called plates.
 Plicht, 99/158, placed.
 Poletis, 98/110, pellets; roundels sable are called pellets.
 Pomme, 98/111. A roundel vert is called a *pomme*.
 Popelers, 91, a kind of bird. *See Prompt. Parc.*
 Poudringes, 13, 17, bands of ermine, called also miniver. *See* notes, pp. 13, 28.
 Pretens, 80/29, designing, pretending.
 Principate, 3, principality.
 Proper, 95/65, properly so called. *See* note, p. 96, and p. 103.
 Proportis, 96/67, explains, purports.
 Prow, 106/47.
 Prow, 63/218, honour, advantage.
 Prudence, 80/41, prudent.
 Prys, 85/1, 105/4, estimation, value.
 Pulter, 81/43, poulterer.
 Pusancis, 93/5, puissances.
 Quarterlie, 97/98, quarterly. *See* note 3, p. 97.
 Queme, 67/16, pleasure.
 Querellous, 67/16, querulous.
 Querelour, 66/26, complaint, querulousness.
 Queynt, 107/82, acquaint.
 Queynte, 67/16, quaint, cunning, artful.
 Quhyte, xiii, white.
 Quiche, 95/44, which. "Quiche a labelle" = who (bears) a label.
 Rampand, 98/127, rampant; standing upright on his hind legs, as if attacking a person. Said of an animal.
 Raschit, 94/26, 100/168, erased; torn off, leaving jagged and uneven edges.
 Rawnesse, 2, ignorance, inexperience.
 Reche, 42/100, ? reach, obtain.
 Regalli, 66/27, for *regalty*, royalty, a kingdom; that over which one has the rule.
 Regardand, 98/130, regardant; looking behind or backward.
 Regle, 99/142. *Ragulée*: a cross *ragulée* is a cross with jagged edges.
 Rehete, 62/198, punishment, or blame.
 Reue, 85/4, reeve.
 Revestre, 35, vestry.
 Ring, 101/214, kingdom.
 Roages, 7, rogues. *See* note, p. 111.
 Rondis, 97/107, roundels. *See* note 5, p. 97.
 Roo, 92, rue.
 Rosey, 92, the name of a confection, composed chiefly of milk, dates, spices, &c.—*Halliwel*. Cp. 'un rosé, lait lardé et croutes de lait,' *Le Ménagier de Paris*, ii. 95; 'un rosé de lapereaulx et d'oiselets, bourrées à la sausse chaude,' *ib.* p. 97, &c. (*See* the Index to *Le Mén.*)

- Rownyng, 84/155, whispering.
- Rysshewes, 92. See note 6, p. 92. In *Lib. Cure Coc.*, p. 39, we find *rissheus*.
- Sable, 96/66, black. 'Sable, diamond of det,' p. 96/74.
- Saliant, 98/128, salient, represented in a leaping position.
- Salt-saler, 60/148, salt-cellar.
- Sanctes, 33, saints.
- Sarsile, 99/141 ?sarceled, i. e. cut through the middle. 'A *cross cercelée* is a cross which, opening at the end, turns round both ways, like a ram's horn.'—*Bailey*.
- Sclake, 45/39, slake, cool.
- Scrooging, xi, crowding, squeezing.
- Seand, 98/129, sejant, or sitting; a term applied to a lion or other animal sitting like a cat.
- Seely, 11, simple, humble.
- Seir, 95/51, several.
- Sekatoures, 85/9, executors.
- Semaka, 90. See p. xvi and p. 90, note 9.
- Semaka fryez, 90. [See note 9, p. 90, also p. xvi.
- Sens, 33, to cense.
- Sewer, 17, 25, the officer of the house who set and removed dishes, tasted them, etc.
- Sic, 97/96. Query, the same as *fess*. See note 1, p. 97, and note, p. 103.
- Sight, 67/18, to sigh.
- Signet, 92, cygnet.
- Sigruns, 84/140, a wolf.
"Quod the vox: 'Wo is now there? Ichc wene hit is *Sigrin* that ich here.'
'That is soth, the wolf sede,
Ac wat art thou, so God the rede.'" *Fox and Wolf*, ed. Hazlitt.
- Singlare, 100/190, singular, uncommon; 'precys singlar' = singularly precious.
- Sirculey, 16. Qu. a coronet.
'Cercle in heraldry signifies within a circle, or *diadem*.'—*Bailey*.
- Sittes, 106/46, it sits to you = it pertains to you.
- Skyunner, 107/78, a dealer in skins.
- Sleyghty, 83/138, sly.
- Slope, 24, 28, 36, 'a morning cassoek for ladies or gentlemen, not open before,' p. 28.
- Slyued, 25. 'The term (sliven) was often applied to dress. Carr has *sliving*, having the brim or edge turned down.'—*Halliwel*. *Sluie*, *disrumpere*.—Levins, 152.
- Sogettis, 66/28, subjects.
- Spado, 81/47, a castrated animal, an impotent person.
- Speris, 94/16, sees, or inquires.
To other londys wyll y *spere*,
More of awnturs for to here.
Halliwel.
- Spreynte, 80/30, sprinkled.
- Spyre, 63/217, to inquire, ask.
- Statant, 98/127. A lion *statant* is a lion standing in profile and looking before him.
- State, yn a state, 89; in state, or in royal state.
- Sted, 86/10, placed. 'I am stedful heavily' = I am painfully placed or situated.
- Sted, 100/170, stand, consist.
- Sternis, 94/22, stars.
- Stryte, 49/148. Courne be stryte = ? Corn be *strait*, where strait would mean *scarce*.
- Styburne, 82/98, stubborn.
- Suclye, 99/142. See note, p. 104.
- Surcourt, 16. A surcoat.
- Sybbe, 44/22, a relative.
- Ta, 61/171, to.
- Tacches, 66/10, dispositions, habits. Beware of knaves' habits.

Talewise, 67/19, 109/8, wise in tales.

Tayllours, 107/73, tailors.

Tent, 95/45, taken notice, or observe.
Observe, the fourth is a martlet.

Tente, 58/66, take heed.

Tergat, 7.

The, 56/13, thrive, prosper.

þer-on, 58/62, therein.

Thofe, 61/169, though.

Thopasis, 96/73, topazes.

To, 64/250, 82/101, till.

To-gid, 97/101, together.

Tonne, 98/119, the one.

Tortell, 99/157, tortile, twisted, round. See note, p. 104.

Tortes, 98/110, 99/157, torteaux, roundels gules are termed torteaux.

Thour and Thorn, 20. See note 3, p. 20.

Throw, 106/45. Time.

Tovny, 96/77, tawny, orange colour.

Toyllous, 67/19, laborious.

Trapper, 26, trappings.

Trauerse, 17. ? A moveable screen. See note 4, p. 17.

Trayer, 27. ? dresser.

Valance, 30, 33.

Verraunce, 86/13, variance, variation.

Verray, 99/144. Enurné. See note, p. 104.

Vert, 96/66, one of the heraldic colours; green. 'Vert emeraut,' 96/76, = green, emerald.

Vmbe-set, 87/23, surrounded, overwhelmed.

Vmdois, 99/149. ? Um-do = do, or set round; support.

Vn-Abulle, 57/49, enable.

Vnkothe, 43/156, unknown.

Walet, 84/166, wallet.

Waryn, 83/109, warren.

Wate, 105/1, know.

Wer, 58/62, ware, careful, aware.

Were, 106/55, beware; let them beware.

Werely, 97/94. 'Werely weidis' = ? worldly garments.

Werly, 95/54, worldly.

Werr, 100/177. *Vair*, which is formed by a number of small bells, or shields, of one tincture, arranged in horizontal lines, in such a manner that those in the upper line are opposite to others, of another tincture, below.

Wesage, 81/65, visage.

Wnproper, 96/67, improper.

Women, satires on, 12.

Worth, 86/11, become, 'worth of' = happen to, befall, become of.

Wowed, 88/16, wooed.

Wreche, 42/104, wrath, anger. 'Wyne his wreche' = overcome his anger.

And covere me atte that dredful day
Til that thy *wreche* be y-passed
away.—*Halliwel*.

Wyage 83/117, voyage, journey.

Wyndows, 98/111, wounds. See note 5, p. 98, and note, p. 104.

Wysage, 80/37, visage.

Yard, 89. A wand.

Ydell-schype, 47/113, idleness.

Ye, 105/7, eye.

Yift, 88/3, gift, bribery.

Yewythe, 80/27, giveth.

ȝerne, 52/7, yarn.

'For yarn that is evil spun
Evil it comes out at the last.'

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PART II.

ACCOUNTS OF

Early Italian, German & French Books

ON

Courtesy, Manners, and Cookery.

- I. MR W. M. ROSSETTI'S ESSAY ON EARLY ITALIAN COURTESY BOOKS.
- II. MR E. OSWALD'S ESSAY ON THOMASIN VON ZIRCLARIA AND ANOTHER GERMAN WORK ON COURTESY.
- III. NOTE ON *LE MÉNAGIER DE PARIS*, 1393-4 A.D. BY F. J. FURNIVALL.

ITALIAN COURTESY-BOOKS.

FRA BONVICINO DA RIVA'S

Fifty Courtesies for the Table

(ITALIAN AND ENGLISH)

WITH OTHER

TRANSLATIONS AND ELUCIDATIONS

BY

WILLIAM MICHAEL ROSSETTI.

TO THE ENGLISH PAINTER

WHO HAS MADE CIVILIZED MANKIND HIS DEBTOR

BY RECOVERING THE PORTRAIT OF

Dante BY Giotto,

THE TWO DII MAJORES OF ITALIAN MEDIEVALISM,

TO THE

BARONE KIRKUP,

MY FATHER'S HONOURED FRIEND AND MY OWN,

I AM PERMITTED TO DEDICATE

THIS SLIGHT ATTEMPT IN A BRANCH OF ITALIAN STUDY

LONG FAMILIAR TO HIMSELF.

W. M. R.

June 1869.

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IN connection with the many samples of English and some French and Latin Courtesy-Books which the pains of other Editors have set before the members of the Early English Text Society, I have been asked to do something to exhibit what Italian literature has to show for itself in the same line. The request is one which I gladly close with ; only cautioning the reader at starting that he must not expect to find in my brief essay any deep or exhaustive knowledge of the subject, or anything beyond specimens of the works under consideration, picked out one here and one there. Italy, it is tolerably well known, was, together with Provence, in the forefront of civilization—or ‘civility,’ as it might here be more aptly phrased—in the middle ages ; and I should not be surprised to learn that, in the refinements of life and niceties of method, the Italy of the thirteenth century, as traceable in her Courtesy-Books, was quite on a par with the France or Germany¹ of the fourteenth, or the England of the fifteenth, and so progressively on. This, however, is a matter which I must leave to be determined by more diligent and more learned researches than my own. The materials for the comparison are now, to some extent, fairly before the editing and reading members of our Society.

As regards date, at all events, Italy is greatly in advance. What is the date of the earliest French Courtesy-Book included in our

¹ As mentioned below, the first German work including something by way of Courtesy-Book, ab. 1210 A.D., *Der Wülsche Gast*, was written by an Italian, Tomasin von Zirclaria.

series? Not far, I presume, from the close of the fourteenth century. What of the earliest English one? About 1450. Against these we can set an Italian Courtesy-Book—or rather a Courtesy section of an Italian book—dating about 1265. Of a date prior to this (the birth-year of Dante), there is little of either prose or poetry in Italian.

The author of our specimen is a man illustrious in the literature of Italy, though comparatively little read for some centuries past—Brunetto Latini; remembered chiefly among miscellaneous readers as the preceptor of Dante, and as consigned by that affectionate but unaccommodating pupil to a very ugly circle of his Hell. There, if we may believe the ‘Poet of Rectitude,’ Ser Brunetto, with a ‘baked aspect,’ is at this moment unremittingly walking under an unremitting rain of fire: were he to pause, he would remain moveless for a century, and the torture of the flames would persecute him in aggravated proportion. On the same authority (which it is futile to fence with), I am compelled to say that Brunetto is the last person from whom one need wish to learn the practice, or as a consequence the theory, of modern or European morals.

However, Brunetto seems to have considered that he had a gift that way. Both his leading works may be termed moral-scientific treatises. The longer of the two, the *Tesoro*, was written in French prose, and is much of a compilation from classic authors in some sections. It had hitherto only been preserved to the public in an old Italian translation, but quite recently the French text has been printed. Sacred, profane, and natural history, geography, oratory, politics, and morals, are the main subject-matter of this encyclopædic labour; than which probably no contemporary produced anything more widely learned, according to the standard of that age. The *Tesoretto* is a shorter performance, written in Italian verse; shorter, yet still of substantial length, numbering, even in its extant incomplete state, 22 sections or ‘*capitoli*.’ This is the work upon which I shall draw for our first specimen of an Italian Courtesy-Book. Something bearing upon the like questions might also be gleaned from the *Tesoro*, but, as that is properly a French book, I leave it aside.

The *Tesoretto* sets forth that its author, being at Roncesvalles on

his return from an embassy in Spain, received the bad news of the battle of Montaperti. Getting astray in a forest,¹ he finds himself in the presence of no less a personage than Dame Nature, who proceeds to give him practical and theoretic demonstrations on all sorts of lofty subjects. She then tells him to explore the forest, where he would find Philosophy, the four Moral Virtues (Prudence, Temperance, Fortitude, and Justice), Love, Fortune, and Over-reaching (*Baratteria*). He follows her instructions, searching out these personages from Philosophy on to Love: the four Virtues are attended by many ladies, among whom Brunetto specifies particularly *Liberality*, *Courtesy*, *Good-faith*, and *Valour*. After his interview with Love, he resolves to reconcile himself with God, and makes a full confession at Montpélier. Having received absolution, he does not return after Fortune and Over-reaching, but goes back to the forest, and thence reaches the summit of Mount Olympus. Here he sees Ptolemy, who is about to harangue him, when suddenly the *Tesoretto* comes to an end. Its best editor, the Abate Zannoni, supposes that the concluding portion of the poem was written, but has been lost to posterity.

A few words must be added as to the incidents of the author's life. He was born (probably) not much later than 1220 in the Florentine state, and died in 1294. After the great defeat of the Guelphs by the Ghibellines at Montaperti in 1260, Brunetto, with others of the Guelph party, which was almost uninterruptedly uppermost in Florence, found it expedient to emigrate from that capital. He went to Paris, and there wrote both the *Tesoro* and *Tesoretto*. Towards 1265 he was again re-established in his native country, exercising with great credit his profession of a notary, and also (by or before the year 1273) holding the post of secretary to the Commune of Florence. He became, as already mentioned, the preceptor of Dante. As the pupil has damned him to all time at any rate, if not in effect to all eternity, for one offence, let us at least preserve some memory of his countervailing merits, as set forth by Giovanni and Filippo Villani. The former affirms that Brunetto 'was the initiator and master in refining the Florentines, and cultivating their use of

¹ Possibly this notion prompted Dante to represent himself, in the opening of the *Commedia*, as also lost in a forest.

language ; and in regulating the justice and rule of our Republic according to policy.' And, according to Filippo, ' Brunetto Latini was by profession a philosopher, by occupation a notary, and of great name and celebrity. He showed forth how much of rhetoric he could add to the gifts of nature : a man, if it be permitted to say so, worthy of being reckoned along with those skilled and ancient orators. He was facetious, learned, and acute, and abounded in certain pleasantries of speech ; yet not without gravity, and the reserve of modesty, which bespoke a most cordial acceptance for his humour : of agreeable discourse, which often moved to laughter. He was obliging and decorous, and by nature serviceable, reserved, and grave ; and most happy in the habit of all virtues, had he been wisely able to endure with a more steadfast mind the outrages of his infuriated country.'

The *Tesoretto* is of course a mine of curiosities of various kinds, tempting to the literary explorer. To call it distinctly a fine poem, or even the performance of a strictly poetic mind, might be the exaggeration of an enthusiast ; but at all events it contains much sound matter well put, and by no means destitute of entertainment. The section that falls in best with our present purpose is the speech assigned to Lady Courtesy : I present it in its entirety.

' Be sure that Liberality is the head and greatness¹
Of my mystery ; so that I am little worth,
And, if she aids me not, I should find scant acceptance.
She is my foundation ; and I am her gilding,
And colour, and varnish. But, to say the very truth,
If we have two names, we are well-nigh one thing.

But to thee, gentle friend, I say first
That in thy speech thou be circumspect.
Be not too great a talker, and think beforehand
What thou wouldst be saying ; for never

¹ The line here translated as one forms two in the Italian, and the like with our sequel ; Brunetto's metre being an ungracefully short one—thus :

'Sic certo che Larghezza
E'l capo e la grandezza,' &c.

Indeed the metre keeps up such a perpetual jingling as almost to reduce to doggerel what might, in a different rhythmical form, be accepted as very fair rhyme and reason indeed. I have thrown the several couplets into single lines, in the translation, simply with a view to saving space.

Doth the word that is spoken return,—like the arrow
Which goes and returns not. He who has a goodly tongue,
Little sense suffices him, if by folly he spoils it not.
Be thy speech gentle ; and see it be not harsh
In any position of command, for thou canst not
Give people any graver annoy. I advise that he should die
Who displeases by harshness, for he never conquers the habit :
And he who has no moderation, if he acts well, he filches that.
Be not exasperating ; neither be a tell-tale
Of what another person has spoken in thy presence ;
Nor yet use contumely ; nor tell any one a lie,
Nor slander of any,—for in sooth there is no one
Of whom one might not say something offensive offhand.
Neither be so self-sufficient as that even one hard word
Affecting another person should issue from thy mouth ;
For too much self-sufficiency is contrary to good usage.
And let him who is on the highway beware of speaking folly.

But thou knowest that I command thee, and put it as a strict precept,
That thou honour to the utmost thy good friend
On foot and on horseback : and be sure that for a small fault
Thou bear no grudge—let not love fail on thy part.
And have it always in mind to associate with people of honour,
And from others hold aloof ; so that (as with the crafts¹)
Thou mayst not acquire any vice, whereof, before thou couldst amend
it,

Thou shalt have scathe and shame. Therefore at all hours
Hold fast to good usage ; for that advances thee
In credit and honour, and makes thee better,
And gives fair seeming,—for a good nature
Becomes the clearer and more polished if it follows good habits.
But see none the less that, if thou shouldst appear tedious
To such or such a company, thou venture to frequent it no more,
But procure thyself some other to which thy ways are pleasing.
Friend, heed this well : with one richer than thyself
Seek not to associate,—for thou shalt be as their merry-maker,
Or else thou wilt spend as much as they ; for, if thou didst not this,
Thou wouldst be mean,—and reflect always
That a costly beginning demands perseverance.
Therefore thou must provide, if thy means allow it,

¹ The original runs

‘Che, siccome dell’ arti,
Qualche vizio non prendi.’

This phrase is not quite clear to me ; but I suppose the word ‘*arti*’ is to be understood as meaning ‘crafts, trades, or professions,’ and that Brunetto had been sharp enough to see that people become ‘shoppy’ according to their respective shops, ‘*Vous êtes orfèvre, Monsieur Josse.*’

That thou do this openly. If not, then mind
 Not to make such expenditure as shall afterwards be reproved ;
 But adopt such a system as to be consistent with thyself.
 And, if thou art a little better off [than thy comrades], do not get
 away,
 But spend on the same scale ; take no advantage :—
 And at all times take heed, if there is in thy company
 A man, in thine opinion, of inferior means,
 That, for God's sake, thou force him not into more than he can meet ;
 For, if, for thy convenience, he spends his money amiss,
 And comes to poverty, thou wilt be blamed therefor.

And in sooth there are persons of high condition
 Who call themselves "noble": all others they hold cheap
 Because of this nobility. And, in that conceit,
 They will call a man "tradesman"¹ who would sooner spend a bushel
 Of florins than *they* of halfpence,²—
 Although the means of both might be of like amount.
 And he who holds himself noble, without doing any other good
 Save of the name, fancies he is making the cross to himself,
 But he *does* make the fig to himself.³ He who endures not toil
 For honour's sake, let him not imagine that he comes
 Among men of worth, because he is of lofty race ;
 For I hold him noble who shows that he follows the path
 Of great valour and of gentle nurture,—
 So that, besides his lineage, he does deeds of worth,
 And lives honourably so as to make himself beloved.
 I admit indeed that, if the one and other are equal in good deeds,

¹ '*Mercennaiio*'—literally, mercenary or hireling.

² '*Picciolini*.' These were, I gather, coins of a particular denomination, but I have not been able to ascertain their precise value.

³ 'Credesi far la croce,
 Ma e' si fa la fica.'

I have translated literally ; but that of course makes something very like nonsense in English. To 'make the fig' is a gesture of the thumb and fingers, understood as gross and insulting in the highest degree. The general sense of the passage is therefore—'He fancies he is thus testifying in his own honour, whereas it really does redound to his own extreme shame.' Readers of Dante, remembering the splendid canzone

'Le dolci rime d'amor ch' io solia,'

in which he refutes the false and defines the true bases of 'nobility' (*gentilezza*), will perceive that the illustrious pupil had been to a great extent anticipated by the teaching of his early instructor. Francesco da Barberino (*Reggimento e Costumi delle Donne*) adopts a middle course, discriminating '*gentilezza*' thus : 'Nobility is twoform in quality and in origin. The first is a state of the human soul contented in virtue, hostile to vice, exulting in the good of others, and pitiful in their adversity. The second is mastery over men or riches, derived from of old, sensitive to shame when brought low.'

He who is the better born is esteemed the higher :
 Not through any teaching of mine, but it seems to be the usage,
 Which conquers and overthrows many of my ways,
 So that I can no otherwise ; for this world is so dense
 That the right is even judged of according to a little talking,
 For the great and the lesser live therein by rumour.

Therefore be heedful to keep among them so silent
 That they may have nothing to laugh at. Adopt their modes,
 For I rather advise thee to follow their wrongfulness.¹
 For, though thou shouldst be in the right, yet, as soon as it pleases
 not them,

It avails thee nothing to speak well, nor yet ill.
 Therefore recount no tale, unless it appears good and fair
 To all who hear it ; for somebody will censure thee for it,
 And add lies thereto when thou art gone,
 Which must assuredly grieve thee. So thou must know,
 In such company, to play the prudent part,
 And be heedful to say what will please.
 And as for the good, if thou knowest it, thou wilt tell it to others
 Where thou art known and held dear ;
 For thou wilt find among people many fools
 Who take greater pleasure in hearing something scurrilous
 Than what is profitable. Pass on, and heed not,
 And be circumspect.

If a man of great repute
 Should at any time do something that is out of bounds
 In street or church, follow not the example :
 For he has no excuse who conforms to the wrong-doing of others.
 And see that thou err not if thou art staying or going
 With a lady or lord, or other superior,—
 Also that, although he be but thine equal, thou observe to honour him,
 Each according to his condition. Be so heedful of this,
 Both of less and more, that thou lose not self-restraint.
 To thine inferior, however, render not more honour
 Than beseems him, nor such that he should hold thee cheap for it :
 And so, if he is the inferior, always walk a step in advance.
 And, if thou art on horseback, avoid every fault ;
 And, if thou goest through the city, I counsel thee to go
 Very courteously. Ride decorously,
 With head a little bowed, for to go in that loose-reined way

¹ Here, on the contrary, we come to a precept the reverse of Dantesque. Yet, on combining this passage with that which opens the ensuing paragraph, it would seem that Brunetto does not mean to recommend connivance with anything that is positively evil, but only with current habits and fashions, objectionable though they may be, in matters essentially indifferent—as of speech and deportment.

Looks most boorish ; and stare not up at the height
Of every house thou comest to. Mind that thou move not about
Like a man from the country—wriggle not like an eel :
But go steadily along the road and among the people.

When thou art asked for a loan, delay not.
If thou art willing to lend, make not the man linger so long
That the favour shall be lost before it is rendered.

And, when thou art in company, always follow
Their modes and their liking ; for thou must not want
To be just suiting thine own taste, nor to be at odds with them.

And always be heedful that thou give not any gross glances
At any woman living, in house or street ;
For he who does thus, and calls himself a lover,
Is esteemed a blackguard.¹ And I have seen before now
A man lose position by a single act of levity ;²
For in this country such goings-on are not admired.
And take heed in every case that Love, with his arts,
Inflame not thy heart. With severest pain
Wouldst thou consume thy life ; nor couldst thou be numbered
In my following, wert thou in his power.³

Now return in-doors, for it is the time ;
And be liberal and courteous, so that in every country
Thy belongings be deemed pleasurable.'

We now pass from Florence to Lombardy—from Ser Brunetto Latini to Fra Bonvicino da Riva—from the lawyer and official to the friar and professor. The poem of Fra Bonvicino, *The Fifty Courtesies for the Table*, will be our principal *pièce de résistance*, and presented accordingly in its own garnishing of old Italian as well as in English. Not that it is by any means the best or most important piece of work that we have to bring forward ; but its rarity, its dialectic interest for students of old Italian, and its precision and detail with regard to one of the essentials of courtesy—the art of dining—

¹ 'Briccon'—the colloquial term still in daily use among Italians.

² 'Solo d'una canzone : ' literally, 'merely for one song.' The Abate Zannoni understands this to mean '*per aver una sola volta canzonato femmina*.' He admits that this sense of the phrase is not discoverable in that fetish of the Italian pedant, the *Dizionario della Crusca* ; but as I have no superior authority to oppose to that of Abate Zannoni, I have followed his interpretation.

³ This seems strange doctrine—that love of courtesy and love of women cannot co-exist in the same man—if we are to accept it in its amplest sense. Perhaps, however, we are to understand that the speaker is still confining his censures to miscellaneous and unsanctioned amours or flirtations, especially with married women.

give it exceptional value for our direct purpose. The poem is supposed to have been written about 1290.

Unpolished as he is in poetic development, Fra Bonvicino is not to be altogether slighted from a literary point of view. Tiraboschi (*Storia della Letteratura Italiana*) believes that Bonvicino and one other were the two sole verse-writers of the Lombard or Milanese State in this opening period of Italian poesy; and Signor Biondelli, whom we have to thank for the publication of Bonvicino's production after so many centuries of its hybernation in MS, can point to the choiceness of the old Friar's vocabulary. In one couplet that well-qualified editor is able to find five expressions 'which, for propriety and purity, would even at the present day bescem the most careful of writers;' and hence he pronounces Bonvicino 'the elegant writer of his time.' It should be understood, however, that the MS reproduced by Signor Biondelli, and now again in the present volume, gives but an inadequate idea of the primitiveness of Bonvicino's own actual idiom. Tiraboschi cites a harsher version of the first stanza from an earlier MS then existing in the Library of Santa Maria In-coronata in Milan, but which is now undiscoverable: the MS used by Signor Biondelli is of a much later date, the fifteenth century. It pertains to the Ambrosian Library in Milan.

Bonvicino belonged to the third order of the Friars named Umiliati, and lived (as he himself informs us) in Legnano, a town of the Milanese district. Hence he went to Milan, and became a distinguished professor of grammar in the Palatine schools. The only other poem of his published in Signor Biondelli's volume¹ is *On the dignity of the Glorious Virgin Mary*: but Tiraboschi specifies other productions in verse—Dialogues in praise of Almsgiving, between the Virgin and Satan, between the Virgin and the Sinner, between the Creator and the Soul, between the Soul and the Body, between the Violet and the Rose, between the Fly and the Ant; also the Legends of Job and of St Alexius; and various works in Latin, of which some have been published.

¹ Poesie Lombarde Inedite del Secolo 13, pubblicate ed illustrate da B. Biondelli. Milano: Bernardoni. 1856. We are indebted to Signor Biondelli's courtesy for a copy of this curious and interesting work.

DE LE

ZINQUANTA CORTEXIE DA TAVOLA

DE FRA BONVEXINO DA RIVA

Fra bon Vexino da Riva, che stete in borgo Legniano
 De le cortexie da descho ne dixe primano ;
 De le cortexie cinquanta che se den servare a descho
 Fra bon Vexino da Riva ne parla mo' de frescho. 4

La primiera è questa : che quando tu è a mensa,
 Del povero bexognoxo imprimamente inpena ;
 Che quando tu pasci lo povero, tu pasci lo tó Signore,
 Che te passerà, poxe la toa morte, in lo eternal dolzore. 8

La cortexia segunda : se tu sporze aqua alle man,
 Adornamente la sporze ; guarda no sia vilan ;
 Asay ghe ne sporze, no tropo, quando el è tempo d'estae ;
 D' inverno per lo fregio in pizina quantitae. 12

La terza cortexia si è : no sì tropo presto
 De corre senza parola per asetare al descho ;
 Se alchun te invida a noxe, anze che tu sie asetato,
 Per ti no prende quello axio, d'onde tu fuzi deschazato. 16

¹ Bonvexino (pronounced Bonvesino) is, in modern Italian, Bonvicino—i. e. good neighbour.

² 'Afresh' represents the Italian 'de frescho.' Signor Biondelli considers that the phrase means 'afresh,' indicating that Fra Bonvesino had written his Courtesies in Latin before turning them into Italian. Signor Biondelli, however, admits that 'de frescho' may also mean 'now recently,' 'just now' ;

THE
FIFTY COURTESIES FOR THE TABLE,
OF FRA BONVESINO¹ DA RIVA.

Fra Bonvesino da Riva, who lived in the town of Legnano,
First treated of the Courtesies for the Table.
Of the Fifty Courtesies which should be observed at the board
Fra Bonvesino da Riva now speaks afresh.² 4

The first is this: that, when thou art at table,
Thou think first of the poor and needy;
For, when thou feedest the poor, thou feedest thy Lord,
Who will feed thee, after thy death, in the eternal bliss. 8

The second Courtesy. If thou offerest water for the hands,
Offer it neatly: see thou be not rude.
Offer enough water, not too much, when it is summer-time:
In winter, for the cold, in small quantity. 12

The third Courtesy is—Be not too quick
To run without a word to sit down at the board.
If any one invites thee to a wedding,³ before thou art seated,
Take not for thyself a place from which thou wouldst be turned out.

and, but for his contrary preference, I should attribute that meaning to the word in the present instance.

³ 'Noxe.' I *suppose* this must represent the modern-Italian word 'nozze,' nuptials, though the incident of a wedding seems rather suddenly introduced at this point, and does not re-appear afterwards.

L' oltra è : Anze che tu prendi lo cibo aparegiao
 Per ti, over per tò mayore, fa sì ch' el sie segniao.
 Tropo è gordo e vilan, e incontra Cristo malegna
 Lo quale alli oltri guarda, ni lo sò condugio no segna. 20

La cortexia zinquena : sta aconzamente al descho,
 Cortexe, adorno, alegro, e confortoxo e frescho ;
 No di' sta convitoroxo, ni gramo, ni travachao ;
 Ni con le gambe in croxe, ni torto, ni apodiaio. 24

La cortexia sexena : da poy che l' omo se fiada,
 Sia cortexe no apodiasse sovra la mensa bandia ;
 Chi fa dra mensa podio, quello homo non è cortexe,
 Quando el gh'apodia le gambe, over ghe ten le braze destexe. 28

La cortexia setena si è : in tuta zente
 No tropo mangiare, ni pocho ; ma temperadamente ;
 Quello homo en ch' el se sia, che mangia tropo, ni pocho,
 No vego quentro pro ghe sia al'anima, ni al corpo. 32

La cortexia ogena si è : che Deo n' acrescha,
 No tropo imple la bocha, ni tropo mangia inpressa ;
 Lo gordo che mangia inpressa, e che mangia a bocha piena,
 Quando el fisse apellavo, no ve risponde apena. 36

La cortexia novena si è : a pocho parlare,
 Et a tenere pox quello che l' à tolegio a fare ;
 Che l' omo tan fin ch' el mangia, s' el usa tropo a dire,
 Le ferguie fora dra bocha sovenzo pon insire. 40

La cortexia dexena si è : quando tu è sede,
 Travonde inanze lo cibo, e furbe la bocha, e beve.
 Lo gordo che beve inpressa, inanze ch' el voja la chana ;
 Al' oltro fa fastidio che beve sego in compagnia. 44

¹ Signor Biondelli understands this stanza in a somewhat different sense, as applying to the *assigning* of dishes, not the *signing* of the cross as a grace be-

The next is—Before thou takest the food prepared,
 See that it be signed [with the cross] by thyself or thy better.
 Too greedy and churlish is he, and he offends against Christ,
 Who looks about at others, and signs not his dish.¹ 20

The fifth Courtesy. Sit properly at the board,
 Courteous, well-dressed, cheerful, and obliging and fresh.
 Thou must not sit anxious, nor dismal, nor lolling,
 Nor with thy legs crossed, nor awry, nor leaning forward. 24

The sixth Courtesy. When people are at a pause,
 Be careful not to lean forward on the laid-out table.
 He who uses the table as a prop, that man is not courteous,
 When he tilts his legs upon it, or stretches out his arms along it. 28

The seventh Courtesy is—For all people
 Not to eat too much nor little, but temperately.
 That man, whoever he may be, who eats too much or little,
 I see not what good it can be to his soul or his body. 32

The eighth Courtesy is—So may God favour us,
 Fill not thy mouth too much, nor eat in too great a hurry.
 The glutton who eats in a hurry, and who eats with his mouth stuffed,
 If he were addressed, he scarcely answers you. 36

The ninth Courtesy is—To speak little,
 And stick to that which one has set-to at doing ;
 For a man, as long as he is eating, if he has the habit of talking too
 much,
 Scraps may often spurt out of his mouth. 40

The tenth Courtesy is—When thou art thirsty,
 First swallow down thy food, and wipe thy mouth, and drink.
 The glutton who drinks in a hurry, before he has emptied his gullet,
 Makes himself disagreeable to the other who is drinking in his com-
 pany. 44

fore meat. The reference to Christ seems to me to create a strong presumption
 in favour of my interpretation.

E la undexena è questa : no sporze la copa al' altro,
 Quando el ghe pò atenze, s' el no te fesse acorto ;
 Zaschuno homo prenda la copa quando ghe plaxe ;
 E quando el l' à beudo, l' à de mete zoxo in paxe. 43

La dodexena è questa : quando tu di' prende la copa,
 Con dove mane la rezeve, e ben te furbe la bocha ;
 Con l'una conzamente no se pò la ben receive ;
 Azò ch' el vino no se spanda, con doe mane di' beve. 52

La tredexena è questa : se ben tu no voy beve,
 S' alchun te sporze la copa, sempre la di' rezeve ;
 Quando tu l' à receuda, ben tosto la pò mete via ;
 Over sporze a un' altro ch' è tego in compagnia. 56

L' oltra che segue è questa : quando tu è alli convivi,
 Onde si à bon vin in descho, guarda che tu no t' invrie ;
 Che se invria matamente, in tre maynere offende ;
 El noxe al corpo e al' anima, e perde lo vin ch' el spende. 60

La quindexena è questa : seben verun ariva,
 No leva in pè dal descho, se grande cason no ghe sia ;
 Tan fin tu mangi al descho, non di' moverse inlora,
 Per amore de fare careze a quilli che te veraveno sovra. 64

La sedexena apresso con veritae :
 No sorbilar dra bocha quando tu mangi con cugial ;
 Quello fa sicom bestia, chi con cugial sorbilia ;
 Chi doncha à questa usanza, ben fa s' el se dispolia. 68

La desetena apresso si è : quando tu stranude,
 Over ch' el te prende la tosse, guarda con tu làvori
 In oltra parte te volze, ed è cortexia inpensa,
 Azò che dra sariva no zesse sor la mensa. 72

¹ It is clear from the general context that the victuals here spoken of as to be eaten with a spoon are solid edibles—not merely soups or the like : the spoon corresponding to the modern fork. The word translated 'suck' is 'sor-

And the eleventh is this : Do not offer the cup to another
 When he can himself reach it, unless he asks thee for it.
 Let every man take the cup when he pleases ;
 And, when he has drunk, he should set it down quietly. 48

The twelfth is this : When thou hast to take the cup,
 Hold it with both hands, and wipe thy mouth well.
 With one [hand] it cannot well be held properly :
 In order that the wine be not spilled, thou must drink using both
 hands. 52

The thirteenth is this : If even thou dost not want to drink,
 If anybody offers thee the cup, thou must always accept it.
 When thou hast accepted it, thou mayst very soon set it down,
 Or else offer it to another who is in company with thee. 56

The next that follows is this : When thou art at entertainments
 Where there is good wine on the board, see that thou get not drunk.
 He who gets mad-drunk offends in three ways :
 He harms his body and his soul, and loses the wine which he con-
 sumes. 60

The fifteenth is this : If any one arrives,
 Rise not up from the board unless there be great reason therefor.
 As long as thou eatest at the board, thou shouldst not then move
 For the sake of making much of those who may come in to thee. 64

The sixteenth next in good sooth.
 Suck not with the mouth when thou eatest with a spoon.¹
 He acts like a beast who sucks with a spoon :
 Therefore whoever has this habit does well in ridding himself of it.

The seventeenth afterwards is this : When thou dost sneeze,
 Or if a cough seizes thee, mind thy lips :
 Turn aside, and reflect that that is courtesy,
 So that no saliva may get on the table. 72

bilar : ' perhaps 'mumble' would convey the force of the precept more fully
 though less literally.

La desogena è questa : quando l' omo sente ben sano,
 No faza onde el se sia del companadego pan ;
 Quello ch' è lechardo de carne, over d'ove, over de formagio,
 Anche n' abielo d'avanzo, perzò no de 'l fa stragio. 76

La dexnovena è questa : no blasma li condugi
 Quando tu è alli convivi ; ma dì, che l'in bon tugi.
 In questa rea usanza multi homini ò za trovao,
 Digando : *questo è mal cogio, o questo è mal salao.* 80

E la XX.^a è questa : ale toe menestre atende ;
 Entre altru' no guarda, se no forse per imprende
 Lo menistrante, s' el ghe manca ben de guardà per tuto ;
 Mal s' el no menestresse clave e se lovo è bruto. 84

La XXI.^a è questa : no mastrulare per tuto
 Como avesse carne, over ove, over semiante condugio ;
 Chi volze, over chi mastrulia sur lo taliere zerchando,
 È bruto, e fa fastidio al compagnon mangiando. 88

La XXII.^a è questa : no te reze vilanamente ;
 Se tu mangi con verun d'uno pan comunamente,
 Talia lo pan per ordine, no va taliando per tuto ;
 No va taliando da le parte, se tu no voy essere bruto. 92

La XXIII.^a : no di' metere pan in vino,
 Se tego d'un napo medesmo bevesse Fra Bon Vexino ;
 Chi vole peschare entro vin, bevando d'un napo connego,
 Per meo grao, se eyo poesse, no bevereve consego. 96

La XXIV.^a è : no mete in parte per mezo lo compagnon
 Ni grelin, ni squela, se no ghe fosse gran raxon ;
 Over grelin, over squela se tu voy mete inparte,
 Per mezo ti lo di' mete pur da la toa parte. 100

¹ I feel some doubt as to the meaning of this passage.

² This appears to be the general sense of the last two lines. In the final one Signor Biondelli gives up two words as unintelligible : he infers that they must be miscopied.

The eighteenth is this : When a man feels himself quite comfortable,
Let him not leave bread over after the victuals.¹

He who has a taste for meat, or for eggs, or for cheese,
Even though he should have a residue, he should not on that account
waste it. 76

The nineteenth is this : Blame not the dishes
When thou art at entertainments, but say that they are all good.
I have detected many men erewhile in this vile habit,
Saying 'This is ill cooked,' or 'this is ill salted.' 80

And the twentieth is this : Attend to thine own sops ;
Peer not into those of others, unless perchance to apprise
The attendant if anything is wanting. He must look well all round :
Things would go much amiss if he were not to attend.² 84

The twenty-first is this : Do not poke about everywhere,
When thou hast meat, or eggs, or some such dish.
He who turns and pokes about on the platter, searching,³
Is unpleasant, and annoys his companion at dinner. 88

The twenty-second is this : Do not behave rudely.
If thou art eating from one loaf in common with any one,
Cut the loaf as it comes, do not go cutting all about ;
Do not go cutting one part and then another, if thou wouldst not be
uncouth. 92

The twenty-third. Thou must not dip bread into wine
If Fra Bonvesino has to drink out of the same bowl with thee.
He who *will* fish in the wine, drinking in one bowl with me,
I for my own liking, if so I could, would not drink with him. 96

The twenty-fourth is—Set not down right before thy companion
Either pan or pot, unless there be great reason therefor.
If thou wantest to introduce either pan or pot,
Thou must set it down at thine own side, before thyself. 100

¹ This seems to contemplate the plan of the several guests helping themselves off the dish brought to table. At any rate, so Signor Biondelli understands it.

La XXV.^a è: chi fosse con femene sovra un talier mangiando,
 La carne a se e a lor ghe debia esser taliata;
 Lo homo de' plu esse intento, plu presto e honoreure,
 Che no de' per raxon la femena agonzente. 104

La XXVI.^a è questa: de grande bontà inpensa,
 Quando lo tò bon amico mangia alla toa mensa;
 Se tu talie carne, over pesso, over oltre bone pitanze,
 De la plu bella parte ghe debie cerne inanze. 108

La XXVII.^a è questa: no di' tropo agrezare
 L'amigo a caxa tova de beve, ni de mangiare;
 Ben di' tu receve l'amigo e farghe bella cera,
 E darghe ben da spende e consolare voluntera. 112

La XXVIII.^a è questa: apresso grande homo mangiando,
 Astalete de mangiare tan fin che l'è bevando;
 Mangiando apresso d'un vescho, tan fin ch'el beve dra copa,
 Usanza drita prende; no mastegare dra bocha. 116

La XXVIII.^a è questa: se grande homo è da provo.
 No di' beve sego a una hora, anze ghe di' dà logo;
 Chi fosse a provo d'un vescho, tan fin ch'el beberave,
 No di' levà lo sò napo, over ch'el vargarave. 120

E la trentena è questa: che serve, abia neteza;
 No faza in lo prexente ni spuda, ni bruteza;
 Al' homo tan fin ch'el mangia, plu tosto fa fastidio;
 No pò tropo esse neto chi serve a uno convivio. 124

Pox la XXX.^a è questa: zaschun cortese donzello
 Che se vore mondà lo naxo, con li drapi se faza bello;
 Chi mangia, over chi menestra, no de' sofia con le die;
 Con li drapi da pey se monda vostra cortexia. 128

¹ 'Donzello.' This precept seems to be especially addressed to the servitors. Ugucione Pisano, quoted by Muratori, says: 'Donnicelli et Domicellæ dicuntur quando pulchri juvenes magnatum sunt sicut servientes.' Such Donzelli

The twenty-fifth is—One who may be eating from a platter with
women,

The meat has to be carved for himself and for them.

The man must be more attentive, more prompt in honouring,
Than the woman, in reason, has to reciprocate. 104

The twenty-sixth is this : Count it as a great kindness
When thy good friend eats at thy table.
If thou carvest meat, or fish, or other good viands,
Thou must choose of the best part for him. 108

The twenty-seventh is this : Thou must not overmuch press
Thy friend in thy house to drink or to eat.
Thou must receive thy friend well, and make him welcome,
And heartily give him plenty to eat and enjoy himself with. 112

The twenty-eighth is this : Dining with a great man,
Abstain from eating so long as he is drinking.
Dining with a Bishop, so long as he is drinking from the cup,
Right usage requires thou shouldst not be chewing with the mouth.

The twenty-ninth is this : If a great man is beside thee,
Thou must not drink at the same time with him, but give him pre-
cedence.

Who may be beside a Bishop, so long as he is drinking
Or pouring out, must not raise his bowl. 120

And the thirtieth is this : He who serves, let him be cleanly.
Let him not make in presence [of the guests] any spitting or nastiness :
To a man as long as he is eating, this is all the more offensive.
He who serves at an entertainment cannot be too nice. 124

Next after the thirtieth is this : Every courteous donzel¹
Who wants to wipe his nose, let him embellish himself with a cloth.
He who eats, or who is serving, must not blow through the fingers :
Be so obliging as to clean yourselves with the foot-cloths.² 128

were not allowed to sit at table with the knights ; or, if allowed, had to sit
apart on a lower seat.

² 'Drapì da pey.' I confess to some uncertainty as to what sort of thing

L' oltra che ven è questa ; le toe man siano nete ;
 Ni le die entro le oregie, ni le man sul cho di' mete ;
 No de' l'omo che mangia habere nudritura,
 A berdugare con le die in parte, onde sia sozura. 132

La terza poxe la XXX.^a : no brancorar con le man,
 Tan fin tu mangi al descho, ni gate, ni can ;
 No è lecito allo cortexe a brancorare li bruti
 Con le man, con le que al tocha li condugi. 136

L' oltra è : tan fin tu mangi con homini cognosenti,
 No mete le die in bocha per descolzare li dingi.
 Chi caza le die in bocha, anze che l'abia mangiao,
 Sur lo talier connego no mangia per mè grao. 140

La quinta poxe la trenta : tu no di' lenze le die ;
 Le die chi le caza in bocha brutamente furbe ;
 Quello homo che se caza in bocha le die inpastruiate,
 Le die no én plu nete, anze son plu brute. 144

La sesta cortexia poxe la trenta :
 S' el te fa mestere parlà, no parla a bocha plena ;
 Chi parla, e chi risponde, se l' à plena la bocha,
 Apena ch' el possa laniare negota. 148

Poxe questa ven quest' oltra : tan fin ch' el compagno
 Avrà lo napo alla bocha, no ghe fa domando,
 Se ben tu lo vo' apelare ; de zò te fazo avezudo ;
 No l'impagià, daghe logo tan fin che l'avrà beudo. 152

these 'foot-cloths' may have been. Signor Biondelli terms them 'the cloths wherewith the feet were wrapped round and dried.' He adds: 'This precept apprizes us that at that time the use of a pocket-handkerchief was not yet introduced, and perhaps not even the use of stockings.' One would fain hope that the summit of Lombardic good breeding in 1290 was not the wiping of noses on cloths actually and at the moment serving for the feet. Possibly *drapi da pey* is here a generic term; cloths or napkins at hand for use, and which *might have served* for foot-cloths. Thus the word 'duster' might be employed in a similar connection, without our being compelled to suppose that the individual duster had first been used on the spot for dusting the tables or

The next that comes is this : Let thy hands be clean.
 Thou must not put either thy fingers into thine ears, or thy hands
 on thy head.

The man who is eating must not be cleaning
 By scraping with his fingers at any foul part. 132

The third after the thirtieth. Stroke not with hands,
 As long as thou eatest at the board, cat or dog.
 A courteous man is not warranted in stroking brutes
 With the hands with which he touches the dishes. 136

The next is—As long as thou art eating with men of breeding,
 Put not thy fingers into thy mouth to pick thy teeth.
 He who sticks his fingers in his mouth, before he has done eating,
 Eats not, with my good-will, on the platter with me. 140

The fifth after the thirtieth. Thou must not lick thy fingers.
 He who thrusts his fingers into his mouth cleans them nastily.
 That man who thrusts into his mouth his besmeared fingers,
 His fingers are none the cleaner, but rather the nastier. 144

The sixth Courtesy after the thirtieth.
 If thou hast occasion to speak, speak not with thy mouth full.
 He who speaks, and he who answers, if he has his mouth full,
 Scarcely can he chop out a word. 148

After this comes this other : As long as thy companion
 Has the bowl to his mouth, ask him no questions
 If thou wouldst address him : of this I give thee notice.
 Disturb him not : pause until he has drunk. 152

floors, and then for wiping the nose. Or indeed, we moderns, who wipe our noses on *hand*-kerchiefs, do not first use said kerchiefs for wiping our *hands*, nor yet for *covering our heads* ('*couvre chef*').—Reverting to Signor Biondelli's observation as to 'the use of stockings,' I may observe that Francesco da Barberino, in a passage of his *Reggimento e Costumi delle Donne*, speaks of 'the beautiful foot shod in silk'—'*calzato in seta*'—which *may* imply either a stocking or else a shoe. This poem, as we shall see further on, is but little later than Bonvicino's.—The reader may also observe, at p. 68, the horror with which a much later writer, Della Casa, contemplated the use of a dinner-napkin as a pocket-handkerchief.

La XXXVIII.^a è questa : no recuntare ree novelle,
Azò che quilli ch' in tego, no mangiano con recore ;
Tan fin che li oltri mangiano, no di nove angosoxe ;
Ma taxe, over di parole che siano confortoxe. 156

L' oltra che segue è questa : se tu mangi con persone,
No fa remore, ni tapie, se ben gh' avise raxone ;
S' alehun de li toy vargasse, passa oltra fin a tempo,
Azò che quilli ch' in tego, no abiano turbamento. 160

L' oltra è : se dolia te prende de qualche infirmitade,
Al più tu poy conprime la toa necesitade ;
Se mal te senti al descho, no dimostrà la pena ;
Che tu no fazi recore a quilli che mangiano tego insema. 164

Pox quella ven 'quest' oltra : se entro mangial vegisse
Qualche sghivosa cossa, ai oltri no desisse ;
Over moscha, over qual sozura entro mangial vezando,
Taxe, ch'eli no abiano sghivo al descho mangiando. 168

L' oltra è : se tu porte squelle al descho per servire,
Sur la riva dra squella le porexe di' tenere :
Se tu apili le squelle cor porexe sur la riva,
Tu le poy mete zoxo in sò logo senza oltro che t' ayda. 172

La terza poxe la quaranta è : se tu sporzi la copa,
La sumità del napo col polexe may no tocha ;
Apilia lo napo de soto, e sporze con una man ;
Chi ten per altra via, pò fi digio, che sia vilan. 176

La quarta poxe la quaranta si è : chi vol odire :
Ni grelin, ni squelle, ni 'l napo no di' trop' inpire ;
Mesura e modo de' esse in tute le cosse che sia ;
Chi oltra zò vargasse, no ave fà cortexia. 180

The thirty-eighth is this : Tell no bad news,
 In order that those who are with thee may not eat out of spirits.
 As long as the others are eating, give no painful news ;
 But keep silence, or else speak in cheerful terms. 156

The next that follows is this : If thou art eating with others,
 Make no uproar or disturbance, even though thou shouldst have
 reason therefor.

If any of thy companions should transgress, pass it by till the time
 comes,
 So that those who are with thee may not be put out. 160

The next is—If the pain of any ill-health seizes thee,
 Keep down thy distress as much as thou canst.
 If thou feelest ill at the board, show not the pain,
 That thou mayst not cause discomfort to those who are eating along
 with thee. 164

After that comes this other : Shouldst thou see in the viands
 Any disagreeable thing, tell it not to the others.
 Seeing in the viands either a fly or any uncleanness,
 Keep silence, that they may not feel disgust, eating at the board. 168

The next is—If thou bringest dishes to the board in serving,
 Thou must keep thy thumbs on the rim of the dish.
 If thou takest hold with the thumb on the rim of the dishes,
 Thou canst set them down in their place without any one else to
 help thee. 172

The third after the fortieth is—If thou offerest the cup,
 Never touch with the thumb the upper edge of the bowl.
 Hold the bowl at the under end, and present it with one hand :
 He who holds it otherwise may be called boorish. 176

The fourth after the fortieth is—hear who will—
 Neither frying-pan nor dishes nor bowl should be overfilled.
 Measure and moderation should be in all things that are :
 He who should transcend this will not have done courtesy. 180

L' oltra che segue è questa : reten a ti lo cugiale,
 Se te fi tolegio la squella per azonere de lo mangiale ;
 Se l' è lo cugial entro la squella, lo ministrante inpilia ;
 In tute le cortexie ben fa chi s' asetilia. 184

L' oltra è questa : se tu mangi con cugial,
 No debie infoleire tropo pan entro mangiare ;
 Quello che fa impiastro entro mangià da fogo,
 El fa fastidio a quilli che ghe mangiano da provo. 188

L' oltra che segue è questa : s' el tò amico è tego,
 Tan fin ch' el mangia al descho, sempre bochona sego ;
 Se forse t' astalasse, ni fosse sazio anchora,
 Forse anchora s' astalarave per vergonza inlora. 192

L' oltra è : mangiando con oltri a qualche inviamiento,
 No mete entr' a guayna lo tò cortelo anze tempo ;
 No guerna lo cortello anze ch' alo compagno ;
 Forse oltro ven in descho d'onde tu no fè raxon. 196

La cortexia seguente è : quando tu è mangiao,
 Fa sì che Jesu Xristo ne sia glorificao.
 Quel che rezeve servixio d'alchun obediente,
 S'elo no lo regratia, tropo è deschognosente. 200

La cinquantena per la darera :
 Lavare le man, poy beve dro bon vino dra carera :
 Le man poxe lo convivio per pocho pòn si lavae,
 Da grassa e da sozura e l'in netezae. 204

¹ 'Chi s' asetilia.' Signor Biondelli cannot assign the exact sense of this verb. I should suppose it to be either a form of 'Assettarsi,' to settle oneself, to keep one's place, or a corruption of 'Assottigliarsi,' to subtilize, to be punctilious, to 'look sharp.'

² 'D' alchun obediente.' This phrase, if directly connected with the 'Jesu Xristo' of the previous line, seems peculiar. I am not quite clear whether

The next which follows is this : Keep thy spoon,
 If thy plate is removed for the adding of some viands.
 If the spoon is in the plate, it puts out the helper.
 In all courtesies he does well who is heedful.¹ 184

The next is this : If thou art eating with a spoon,
 Thou must not stuff too much bread into the victuals.
 He who lays it on thick upon the cooked meats
 Is distasteful to those who are eating beside him. 188

The next that follows is this : If thy friend is with thee,
 As long as he eats at the board, always keep up with him.
 If thou perchance wert to leave off, and he were not yet satisfied,
 Maybe he also would then leave off through bashfulness. 192

The next is—Dining with others by some invitation,
 Put not back thy knife into the sheath before the time :
 Deposit not thy knife ere thy companion.
 Perhaps something else is coming to table which thou dost not
 reckon for. 196

The succeeding Courtesy is—When thou hast eaten,
 So do as that Jesus Christ be glorified therein.
 He who receives service from any that obeys,²
 If he thanks him not, is too ungrateful. 200

The fiftieth for the last.
 Wash hands, then drink of the good and choice wine.³
 After the meal, the hands may be a little washed,
 And cleansed from grease and impurity. 204

the whole stanza is to be understood as an injunction to render grace after meat, in thankfulness for what Christ has given one—or to thank the *servants* who have been waiting at table, and so to glorify Christ by an act of humility.

³ 'Dro bon vino dra carera.' The general sense is evidently near what the translation gives : but Signor Biondelli is unable to assign the *precise* sense. No wonder therefore that I am unable.

As far as I know (though I cannot affect to speak with authority) this poem by Fra Bonvicino, and those by Francesco da Barberino of which we shall next take cognisance, are considerably the oldest still extant Courtesy-Books (expressly to be so termed) of Christianized Europe;¹ except one, partly coming under the same definition, which has been mentioned to me by a well-read friend, Dr Heimann (of University College), but of which I have no direct personal knowledge.² This also, though written in the German language, is the production of an Italian. It is entitled *Der Wälsche Gast* (*the Italian Guest*), and dates about 1210. The author's name is given as Tomasin von Zirclaria, born in Friuli. The book supplies various rules of etiquette, in a very serious and well-intentioned tone, as I am informed.—Fra Bonvicino would, on the ground of his antiquity alone, be well deserving of study. His precepts moreover (with comparatively few exceptions) cannot even yet be called obsolete, though some of them are unsophisticated to the extent of being superfluous. In order that the reader may see in one *coup d'œil* the whole of this curious old monument I subjoin a classified abridgment of the injunctions :—

1. *Moral and Religious.*

To think of the poor first of all.

To remember grace before meat.

To eat enough, and not too much.

Not to get drunk.

To pass over for the time any cause of quarrel.

To say grace after meat.

2. *Practical Rules still fairly operative.*

To offer water for washing the hands before dinner.

Not to plump into a seat at table at haphazard.

To sit at table decorously and in good humour.

¹ Several others must nevertheless have been written before or about the same time; for Barberino himself, in the exordium to his *Reggimento e Costumi delle Donne*, says—

‘There have been many who wrote books

Concerning the elegant manners of men, but not of women.’

² A full account of it by Mr Eugene Oswald follows the present Essay.

- Not to tilt oneself forward on the table.
- Not to gorge or bolt one's food.
- To subordinate talking to eating.
- Not to drink with one's mouth full.
- To remain seated at table, even though fresh guests should arrive.
- Not to suck at solid food eaten with a spoon.
- To use up one's bread.
- To abstain from raising objections to the dinner.
- Not to scrutinize one's neighbour's plate.
- To cut bread as it comes, not in all sorts of ways.
- To carve for the ladies.
- To give the guests prime cuts.
- To make the guests thoroughly welcome, without oppressive urgencies.
- To abstain at dinner from stroking cats and dogs.
- Not to speak with one's mouth full.
- To abstain from imparting bad news at dinner.
- To keep down any symptoms of pain or illness.
- To avoid calling attention to anything disagreeable which may accidentally be in the dishes.
- The attendants to hold the dishes by their rims.
- Not to hand round the bowl by its upper edge.
- Not to overload the dishes, goblets, &c.
- Not to hurry through with one's eating, so that others, who are left behind, would feel uncomfortable.
- To wash hands and drink the best wine after dinner.

3. *Rules equally true and primitive.*

- Not to tilt one's legs on the table between-whiles.
- To turn aside if one sneezes or coughs.
- Not to set down before the guests utensils fresh from the kitchen.
- The attendants to be clean—not to spit, &c.
- To blow one's nose on 'foot-cloths,' not through the fingers.
- Not to scratch at one's head or elsewhere.
- Not to pick one's teeth with the fingers.
- Not to lick one's fingers clean.

4. *Rules which may be regarded as over-punctilious or obsolete.*

Not to sit at table with one's legs crossed.

To offer the cup to others only when they want it. (The rules as to drinking seem throughout to contemplate that two or more guests are using one cup or vessel.)

To use both hands in drinking.

Never to decline the cup when another offers it, but to drink no more than one wishes. (This rule still has its analogue at tables where the custom lingers of requesting 'the pleasure of taking wine with' some one else.)

Not to rummage about in the dish from which one is eating along with others.

Not to dip bread into the wine of which one is drinking along with others.

To suspend eating while a man of importance is drinking.

To postpone drinking till the man of importance has finished.

Not to speak to a man who is in the act of drinking. (This rule seems to contemplate 'potations pottle-deep,' such as engage all one's energies for some little while together: for a mere modern sip at a wine-glass such a rule would be superfluous.)

To retain one's spoon when one's plate is removed for another help. (*One* spoon, it may be inferred, is to last all through the meal, serving as a fork.)

Not to eat an excessive quantity of bread with the viands.

Not to re-place one's knife in its sheath prematurely. (It may be presumed that each guest brings his own knife.)

The reader who considers these rules in their several categories, and with due allowance for difference of times, manners, and 'properties,' will, I think, agree with me in seeing that the essentials of courtesy at table in Lombardy in the thirteenth century, and in England in the nineteenth, are, after all, closely related; and that, while some of our Friar's tutorings would now happily be supererogatory, and others are inapplicable to present dining conveniences, not one is ill-bred in any correct use of that word. The details of etiquette vary indefinitely: the sense of courtesy is substantially one

and the same. In Fra Bonvicino's manual, it appears constantly in its genuine aspect, and prompted by its truest spirit—not so much that of personal correctness, each man for his own credit, as of uniform consideration for others.

The same is eminently the case with some of the precepts given by our next author, Francesco da Barberino. Nothing, for instance, can go beyond the true *rationale* of courtesy conveyed in the following injunction¹ (which we must not here degrade from its grace of Tuscan speech and verse):

‘ Colli minor sì taci,
E prendi il loco che ti danno ; e pensa
Che, per far qui difesa,
Faresti lor, per tuo vizio, villani.’

Or this:²

‘ E credo che fa male
Colui che taglia essendo a suo maggiore :
Chè non v' è servitore
S'el non dimanda prima la licenza.’

Indeed, I think that the tone prevalent throughout Barberino's maxims of courtesy on all sorts of points is fairly to be called exquisite. Our extract from him brings us (it may be well to remember) into the closest contact with the social usages which Dante in his youth must have been cognisant of and conforming to ; for, in passing from Bonvicino to Barberino, we have passed from Lombardy to Tuscany—the latter poet being a native of the Val d'Elsa, in the same district as Boccaccio's birth-place, Certaldo. The date assigned to Barberino's work, the *Documenti d'Amore*, is just about the same as that of Bonvicino's, or from 1290 to 1296. Yet I apprehend we must receive this early date with some hesitation. In 1290 Barberino was but twenty-six years of age ; whereas the *Documenti d'Amore*, a lengthy and systematic treatise on all kinds of moral and social duties and proprieties, seems to be rich with the hoarded experience of years. That so young a man should even have sketched out for himself a work of such axiomatic oracularity seems *à priori* unlikely, though one has to accept the fact on authority : that he

¹ This injunction forms stanza 4 in our extract from Barberino beginning at p. 38.

² See at p. 40, the stanza beginning ‘ And I think that he does amiss.’

should towards that age have completed the poem as we now possess it appears to me barely compatible with possibility. His other long poem, still more singular on the like account, is referred to nearly the same date. I observe in it, however, one passage (Part 6) which *must* have been written after 1308, and probably after 1312. It refers to a story which had been narrated to Barberino 'one time that he was in Paris.' Now his journey on a mission to Provence and France began in 1309, and ended in 1313.

I shall here give place to my brother, and extract *verbatim* the notice of Barberino contained in his book of translations, *The Early Italian Poets*.¹

'Francesco da Barberino : born 1264, died 1348.

'With the exception of Brunetto Latini (whose poems are neither very poetical nor well adapted for extract), Francesco da Barberino shows by far the most sustained productiveness among the poets who preceded Dante, or were contemporaries of his youth. Though born only one year in advance of Dante, Barberino seems to have undertaken, if not completed, his two long poetic treatises some years before the commencement of the *Commedia*.

'This poet was born at Barberino di Valdelsa, of a noble family, his father being Neri di Ranuccio da Barberino. Up to the year of his father's death, 1296, he pursued the study of law chiefly in Bologna and Padua ; but afterwards removed to Florence for the same purpose, and became one of the many distinguished disciples of Brunetto Latini,² who probably had more influence than any other one man in forming the youth of his time to the great things they accomplished. After this he travelled in France and elsewhere ; and on his return to Italy in 1313, was the first who, by special favour of Pope Clement V., received the grade of Doctor of Laws in Florence. Both as lawyer and as citizen, he held great trusts, and discharged

¹ *The Early Italian Poets, from Ciullo d'Alcamo to Dante Alighieri (1100-1200-1300), in the Original Metres : together with Dante's Vita Nuova. Translated by D. G. Rossetti. Smith and Elder, 1862.*

² There is evidently something erroneous in this statement : Brunetto died in 1294. The Editor of a collection of Italian Poets (*Lirici del Secolo secondo, &c.—Venezia, Antonelli, 1841*) says : 'Francesco went through his first studies under Brunetto Latini. Hence he passed to the Universities of Padua and of Bologna.' Barberino being a Tuscan, this seems the natural course for him to adopt, rather than to have gone to Padua and Bologna before Florence. My brother's remark, as to the death of Neri in 1296, and as to Francesco's subsequent sojourn in Florence, agrees, however, with the statement made by Tiraboschi : apparently we should understand that Francesco had been in Florence both before and after his stay in Padua and Bologna, and that his studies under Brunetto pertain to the earlier period.

them honourably. He was twice married, the name of his second wife being Barna di Tano, and had several children. At the age of eighty-four he died in the great plague of Florence. Of the two works which Barberino has left, one bears the title of *Documenti d'Amore*, literally *Documents*¹ *of Love*, but perhaps more properly rendered as *Laws of Courtesy*; while the other is called *Del Reggimento e dei Costumi delle Donne*,—*of the Government and Conduct of Women*. They may be described, in the main, as manuals of good breeding or social chivalry—the one for men, and the other for women. Mixed with vagueness, tediousness, and not seldom with artless absurdity, they contain much simple wisdom, much curious record of manners, and (as my specimens show) occasional poetic sweetness or power—though these last are far from being their most prominent merits. The first-named treatise, however, has much more of such qualities than the second, and contains moreover passages of homely humour which startle by their truth, as if written yesterday. At the same time, the second book is quite as well worth reading, for the sake of its authoritative minuteness in matters which ladies now-a-days would probably consider their own undisputed region, and also for the quaint gravity of certain surprising prose anecdotes of real life with which it is interspersed. Both these works remained long unprinted; the first edition of the *Documenti d'Amore* being that edited by Ubaldini in 1640, at which time he reports the *Reggimento* &c. to be only possessed by his age “in name and in desire.” This treatise was afterwards brought to light, but never printed till 1815. I should not forget to state that Barberino attained some knowledge of drawing; and that Ubaldini had seen his original MS of the *Documenti*, containing, as he says, skilful miniatures by the author.

‘Barberino never appears to have taken a very active part in politics, but he inclined to the Imperial and Ghibelline party. This contributes with other things to render it rather singular that we find no poetic correspondence or apparent communication of any kind between him and his many great countrymen, contemporaries of his long life, and with whom he had more than one bond of sympathy. His career stretched from Dante, Guido Cavalcanti, and Cino da Pistoia, to Petrarca and Boccaccio: yet only in one respectful but not enthusiastic notice of him by the last-named writer (*Genealogia degli Dei*) do we ever meet with an allusion to him by any of the greatest men of his time. Nor in his own writings, as far as I remember, are they ever referred to. His epitaph is said to have been written by Boccaccio, but this is doubtful. On reviewing the present series, I am sorry, on the whole, not to have included more specimens of Barberino; whose writings, though not very easy to tackle in the mass, would afford an excellent field for selection and summary.’

¹ *Teachings* or *Lessonings of Love* might probably express the sense more exactly to an English ear.

Thus far my brother. I will only add to his biographical details that, at the very end of Francesco da Barberino's life, he and one of his sons were elected the Priori, or joint chief-magistrates of the Florentine Republic; and that the Barberini who came to the papal chair in 1623 as Urban VIII. was of the same family. His patronymic is enshrined to many loose memories in the epigram '*Quod non fecere Barbari fecere Barberini.*' To all that my brother has said of the qualities, and especially the merits, of Francesco, I cordially subscribe. The *Documenti d'Amore* is really a most capital book,—I should suppose, unsurpassed of its kind, and also in its interest for students of the early mediæval manners, and modes of thought. Its diction is remarkably condensed—(Italian scholars say that it shows strong traces of the author's Provençal studies and predilections)—and it is proportionately stiff work to hasty readers. Those who will peruse it deliberately, and weigh its words, find many niceties of laconism, and much terse and sententious good sense as well—lengthy as is the entire book. This is indeed no slight matter—twelve sections, and something like 8500 lines. It is exactly the sort of work to elicit and to account for editorial enthusiasm.

I extract in full the stanzas bearing directly upon that which (following the impulsion of Fra Bonvicino) has become our more immediate subject—the Courtesies of the Table. The tone of society which we find here is visibly in advance of the Lombard Friar's, though the express precepts of the two writers have a good deal of general resemblance: the superiority in this respect is very much the same as in the language. Barberino's diction seems quite worthy of a Tuscan contemporary of Dante, and his works are still drawn upon as a '*testo di lingua.*'

'The third point of good manners
Which thou art to observe at table
Thou mayst receive thus;
Thinking out for thyself the other details from these few.

And, in entering to table,
If he who says to thee "Go in" is a man of distinction,
On account of his dignity
It behoves thee not to dispute the going.

With thine equals, it beseems to decline
For awhile, and then to conform to their wish :
With superiors, affect
Just the least demur, and then acquiesce.

With inferiors, keep silence,
And take the place which they give thee : and reflect
That, by resisting here,
Thou, by thy default, wouldst be making *them* rude.

In thine own house, remain
Behind, if they are thy superiors or equals :
And, if thine inferiors, thou shalt seem
No other than correct if thou dost the same.

Understand the like, if thou givest
To eat to any persons out of thine own home :
Also remain behind when it happens
That thou art entertaining women.

Next consider about placing
Each person in the post that befits him.
Between relatives it behoves
To place others midway sometimes.

And, in this, honour the more
Those who are strangers, and retain the others by thyself :
And keep cheerful
Thy face and demeanour, and forbear with all.

Now I speak for every one.
He who is helping, let him help in equal portions.
He who is helped, let him not manœuvre
For the best, but take the less good.

They must not be pressed ;
For this is their own affair, and choice is free,
And one forces the preference
Of him who was abstaining, perhaps purposely.

He makes a fool of himself who prematurely lays aside
His plate, while the others are still eating ;
And he who untidily
Turns the table into a receptacle for scraps ;

And he who sneers
At what he does not like ; and he who hurries ;
And he who picks and chooses
Out of the viands which are in common ;

And those who seem more hungry
At the end than at the beginning ;

And also he who sets to
 At fortifying himself,¹ or exploring the bottom of the platter.
 Nor do I think it looks quite well
 To gnaw the bone with the teeth, and still worse
 To drop it into the saucepan ;²
 Nor is salt well deposited on the dish.

And I think that he does amiss
 Who carves, being at the table of his superior ;
 For none can perform service
 If he does not first ask leave.

With thine equal, begin,
 If the knife lies at thy right hand :
 If not, leave it to him.
 With fruit, thou canst not fitly help thy companion.

With women, I need not tell thee :
 But thou must help them to everything,
 If there is not some one who undertakes
 Both the carving and other details.

But always look to it
 That thou approach not too close to any of them.
 And, if one of them is a relative of thine,
 Thou wilt give more room to the other.

And, in short, thou wilt then
 Do and render honour to thine utmost :
 And here always mind
 That thou soil not their dress.

Look them in the face but little,
 Still less at their hands while eating,
 For they are apt to be bashful :
 And with respect to them, thou mayst well say " Do eat."

When sometimes there come
 Dishes or fruits, I praise him who thinks of avoiding
 To take of those
 Which cannot with cleanliness be handled.

Ill does the hand which hurries
 To take a larger help out of a dish in common ;
 And worse he who does not well avoid
 To loll, or set leg upon leg.

¹ 'Chi vuol fare merli.' The phrase means literally 'he who wants to make battlements'—or possibly 'to make thrushes.' I can only *guess* at its bearing in the present passage, having searched for a distinct explanation in vain. It seems to be one of the myriad '*vezzi di lingua*' of old Italian, and especially old Tuscan, idiom.

² 'Di mandar a lavaggio.' I am far from certain as to the real meaning.

And be it observed
That here thou shouldst speak little and briefly :
Nor here must there be speech
Of aught save elegant and cheerful pleasantness.

I have shown thee above
Concerning the respect due to [thy lord], and saluting him.
I will now tell thee
More than I before said concerning service.

Take care that, in every operation
Or service that thou dost before him,
Thou must think steadily
Of what thou art about, for it goes ill if thou art absent-minded.

Thou shouldst keep thine eye,
When thou servest him, on that which he likes.
The silent tongue is aright,
Always without questioning, during service ;

Also that thou keep thyself,
Thou who hast to serve, clean in dress and hands.
And I would have thee also serve strangers,
If they are at the meal with him.

Likewise have an eye to it
That thou keep things clean before him thou servest.
And thou dost well if thou keepest
The slice entire, if thou canst, in carving ;

And amiss if neglectfully
Thou makest too great a lump of the carved viands ;
And worse if thou art so long about it
That they have nothing to eat.

And, when there may be
Viands which make the hands uncleanly,
In some unobtrusive way
Get them washed by the time the next come on.

Thou shalt always be observant of the same
In bringing forward the fruits :
For to offer these about,
As I said before, befits not the guests.

Also I much complain
Of thee who wouldst then be correcting others :
For the present it must suffice thee,
In this case, to do right for thyself only.

He puts me out who has
So awkward a manner in cutting

That, in peeling a pear,
 He takes up from three to nine o'clock ;
 And also he who keeps not good guard
 Over his hand, and slips in cutting ;
 For he is prevented from serving,
 And his lord sometimes has no one to serve him.

I dislike that he who serves
 Should, in serving, speak of the doctor ;
 Unless maybe by way of obeying,
 When he has it in command from him.

In giving water thou shalt be careful,
 Considering the time and place :
 Where there is little, little ;
 In the cold time, less cold—and, if very cold, warm.

When the sun is very hot,
 Bring it abundantly, but mind the people's clothes.
 Observe the station and the ages,
 With regard to whom thou shalt begin with, if there is none to
 tell thee.¹

At table it behoves
 Not to give bad or offensive news ;
 Unless delay might produce
 Danger—and then only to the person concerned.

Be thy mouth abstinent
 From eating while the first table is set.
 In drinking do likewise,
 So far as gratification goes, but thirst excuses thee :

Which if thou feelest, accustom thyself
 Not to drink underhand, nor of the best.
 Neither is a servant liked
 Who afterwards is long over his eating,

If he is where he *can* do this ;
 And still less he who sulks if he is called
 When he has not yet done eating ;
 For he serves best who serves other than his gullet.'

¹ This precept, and especially a preceding one (p. 39) which enjoins the host to place the guests in their appropriate seats, keeping by himself those of less account, would seem to show that at this period the seats at the right and left of the host (or hostess) were by no means understood to be posts of honour. The absence of all mention, either in Bonvicino or in Barberino, of the hostess or her especial duties, strikes one as a singularity. That the hostess is nevertheless understood to be present may be fairly inferred from the clearly expressed presence of other ladies.

Before parting from the *Documenti d'Amore*, I will summarize a few more of Barberino's dicta on points of courtesy and demeanour in general.

There are seven offences in speaking: 1. Prolivity; 2. Curtness; 3. Audacity; 4. Mauvaise Honte; 5. Stuttering; 6. Beating about the bush; 7. Restlessness of gesture, and this is the least supportable of all. Remedies against all these evils are assigned. For the 6th, as we are told, the (then) modern usage is to speak out what you have to say with little or no proem. As to the 7th, the moving about, as a child would do, the hands, feet, or head, or the using action in speech, shows deficient firmness. See that you stand firm. Yet all this is to be modified according to place, time, and the auditory. (It is amusing to find the dignified Tuscan of the thirteenth to fourteenth century reprobating that luxuriance of gesture which is one of the first things to strike an English eye in Italy down to our own day—more especially in the southern parts of the country. To have striven to obey Barberino's precept, under pain of being pronounced bad company, must have proved hard lines to some of his contemporaries and catechumens.)

If you chance into uncongenial company, take the first opportune occasion for getting away, with some parting words that shall not bewray your antipathy.

To casual companions speak on their own respective subjects; as of God to the clergy, health to doctors, design to painters. 'With ladies of refinement and breeding, laud and uphold their honour and state by pleasant stories not oftentimes told already. And, if any one is contrary and froward, reply in excuse and defence; for it is derogatory to contend against those the overcoming of whom is loss.'

If you come into the company of a great lord, or of persons who are all your superiors, and if they invite you to speak, inquire what the topic shall be. If you find nothing to say, wait for some one else to start you; and at worst be silent. In such company, be there no gesturing (again!).

If you are walking with a great lord in any country, conform in a measure to the usages there prevalent.

Following your superior, be respectful; to your equal, com-

plaisant, and treat him as superior; and, even with your inferior, tend towards the same line of conduct. This, however, does not apply to your own servant. Better exceed than fall short in showing respect to unknown persons. If your superior, in walking with you, wants to have you by his side, go to his left as a general rule, so that he may have the full use of his sword hand. If it rains, and he has no cloak, offer him yours; and, even if he declines, you must still dispense with it yourself. The like with your hat. Pay similar attentions to your equal, or to one that is a little your inferior: and even to your positive inferiors you must rather overdo courtesy than fall short. Thus also with women: you must explore the way for them, and attend on them, and in danger defend them with your life.

In church, do not pray aloud, but silently.

Wait not to be saluted. Be first in saluting; but do not overdo this, and never reiterate a salutation. Your own lord you must not salute, unless he comes from afar. You should uncover to him: then, if he is covered, cover again. Do not exceed in saluting an intimate, but enter at once into conversation; and do not hug him, unless he and you are indeed one.¹ Bow to ladies without much speaking: and in towns ascertain the ordinary practice in such cases, and observe it. If you see a female relative in your own town, she being alone, or in company with only one person, *and if she is handsome*, accost her as though she were not your relative, unless your relationship is a fact known to the bystanders. (This is a master-touch: and here is another, of a nearly similar sort)—

In serving a man of distinction, if you meet his wife, affect not to observe her; and, if she gives you any commission to fulfil, don't show that it gratifies you.

The 16th '*Documento*' sets forth 'the method of making presents so that the gift be acceptable.' It is so admirable in point of both sense and expression that I quote the original in a note, secure that *that* will be a gift acceptable to all such readers of these pages

¹ Prettily worded in the Italian:

'Nè abbracciar stringendo,
Se non sei ben una cosa con quello.'

as may be readers of Italian also.¹ What can be more perfect than the censure awarded to those who are in a chafe until, by reciprocating any service rendered to them, they shall have wiped it out?

‘Be all aware
That it is no small flaw to mislike
Remaining under an obligation :
Nay, it then seems that one is liberal by compulsion.’

Barberino’s second work, *Del Reggimento e dei Costumi delle Donne*, furnishes, strange to say, hardly any express rules for conduct at table ; but some details may, for our general purpose, be picked out of an emporium whose abundance can be surmised from the following programme.

¹ Ancor c’è molta gente
Ch’han certi vizj in dono ed in servire,
Sì che poco gradire
Vediamo in lor quando ne fanno altrui :

Chè non pensano a cui,
Nè che nè come, nè tanto nè quanto.
Altri fanno un procanto
Di sue bisogne, e poi pur fanno il dono.

Ed altri certi sono
Che danno indugio, e credon far maggiore.
E molti che colore
Pongon a scusa, e poi pur fanno e danno.

Ed altri che, com’ hanno
Servigio ricevuto, affrettan troppo
Disobbligar lo groppo
Col qual eran legati alli serventi :

Onde sien tutti attenti
Che non è picciol vizio non volere
Obbligato manere ;
Anzi par poi che sforzato sia largo.

Dicemi alcuno : ‘Io spargo
Li don, per mia libertate tenere ;
Non per altrui piacere.’
Questo è gran vizio : ed è virtù maggiore,

E più porta d’onore,
Saver donar la sua persona altrui,
Ricevendo da lui,
E star apparecchiato a meritare.

E non ti vo’ lassare
Lo vizio di colui che colla faccia
Non vuol dar sì che piaceia,
Ma turba tutto, e sta gran pezza mutto.

'I will divide this work into 20 parts :
 And each part
 Shall present certain distinct grades,
 As the foregoing reading shows.
 The 1st will relate how a girl
 Should conduct herself
 When she begins to appreciate right and wrong,
 And to fear shame.
 2nd, How, when
 She comes to a marriageable age.
 3rd, How, when she has passed
 The period for marriage.
 4th, if, after she has given up the hope of ever
 Obtaining a husband, it happens
 That yet she gets one, and remains
 At home awhile before going to him.
 The 5th, How, after she is married ;
 And how the first, and how
 The second and third,
 Up to fifteen days ; and the first month,
 And the second and third ;
 And how on to her end :
 Both before having children, and afterwards, and if she
 Has none : and how in old age.
 The 6th, How, if she loses her husband :
 And how if she is old ;
 And how if she is of middle age ;
 And how if she is left young ;
 And how if she has children ;
 And how if she is a grandmother ;
 And how if she still
 Remains mistress of her husband's property ;
 And if she, being a widow, takes
 The garb of religion.
 The 7th sets forth
 How she should comport herself
 If she marries again ;
 And how if to a better [husband],
 And how if to a worse
 And less wealthy one ;
 And how if she yet goes to a third ;
 And how, after she has become a widow,
 And has again taken a husband,
 She remains awhile at home
 Before going to him ;
 And how far re-marrying is praised or blamed.
 8th, How, she

Who assumes the habit
 Of a religious order at home ;
 And how this is praised or no.
 9th, How, being shut up in a monastery
 In perpetual reclusion ;
 And how the Abbess, Superior, and Priore:s,
 And every other Portress or Nun.
 10th, How she
 Who secludes herself alone
 Is named a Hermitess ; and wherein this is to blame.
 11th, How
 The maid who is
 In companionship with a lady ;
 And how if she is alone,
 And how if one among others in the like office.
 12th, How
 Every serving-woman shall conduct herself,
 Whether serving a lady alone, or a lady along
 With the master ; and also if any, by herself,
 Serves a master ; and how
 This is to be praised, and how not.
 13th, How,
 A nurse in the house, and how apart.
 14th, How,
 The female serf or slave ;¹

¹ The mention of a slave in a Florentine household of the late 13th or early 14th century may startle some readers. I translate the note which Signor Guglielmo Manzi, the editor of the *Reggimento*, supplies on this subject. 'Slavery, which abases mankind, and revolts humanity and reason, diminished greatly when the Christian religion was introduced into the Roman Empire—that religion being in manifest opposition to so barbarous a system. The more the one progressed in the world, the more did the other wane ; and, as Bodino observes in his book *De Republicâ*, slavery had ceased in Europe, to a great extent, by 1200. I shall follow this author, who is the only one to afford us some degree of light amid so great obscurity. In the year 1212 there were still, according to him, slaves in Italy ; as may be seen from the ordinances of William, King of Sicily, and of the Emperor Frederick II. for the kingdom of Naples, and from the decretals of the Popes Alexander III., Urban III., and Innocent III., concerning the marriages of slaves. The first of these Popes was elected in 1158, the second in 1185, and the third in 1198 ; so that the principle of liberty cannot be dated earlier than in or about 1250—Bartolo, who lived in the year 1300, writing (*Hostes de Captivis*, l.) that in his time there were no slaves, and that, according to the laws of Christendom, men were no longer put up to sale. This assertion, however, conflicts with the words of our author, who affirms that in his time—that is, at the commencement of the 14th century—the custom existed. But, in elucidation of Bartolo, it should be said that he implied that men were no longer sold, on the ground that this was prohibited by the laws of Christendom, and the edicts of sovereigns. In France it can be shown that in 1430 Charles VII. gave their

And how, being a serf,
She may afterwards, through her conduct, obtain her liberty.

15th, How

Every kind of woman

Of the common sort should behave,

And of a lower and poorer sort ; and all

Save the bad ones of dissolute life

Who sell their honour for money,—

Whom I do not purpose

To put in writing,

Nor to make any mention of them,

For they are not worthy to be named.

16th treats

Of certain general precepts

To all women ; and of their ornaments,

And their adventures.

17th, of their consolations.

18th, because sometimes

They must know how to speak and converse

And answer, and be in company,

Here will be treated upon questions of love

And courtesy and breeding.

19th treats

Of certain motetts and messages¹

Of ladies to knights,

And of other sorts

Of women and men.

The 20th treats

Of certain orisons.

And in this part is the conclusion

Of the book ; and how I carry this book

To the Lady who is above-named,²

liberty to some persons of servile condition ; and even in the year 1548 King Henri II. liberated, by letters patent, those of the Bourbonnais : and the like was done throughout all his states by the Duke of Savoy in 1561. In the Hundred Tales of Boccaccio we have also various instances showing that the sale of free men was practised in Italy. These are in the 6th Tale of the 2nd Day, the story of Madonna Beritola, whose sons remained in Genoa in serfdom ; and in the 6th of the 5th Day, the story of Frederick, King of Sicily ; and in the 7th of the same Day, the story of Theodore and Violante. It is therefore clear, from all this evidence, that, in the time of Messer Francesco, so execrable a practice was still prevalent ; and, summing up all we have said, it must be concluded that serfdom, in non-barbarian Europe, was not entirely extinguished till the 16th century.'

¹ 'Mottetti e parlari.' Only a few specimens of these are given, and they are all sufficiently occult. Here is one. 'Grande a morte, o la morte. Di molte se grava morte. [Risponde Madonna] Dolci amorme, quel camorme, dunque amorme conveniarne.'

² This Lady is an ideal or symbolic personage—presumably Wisdom.

And how she receives it;
 And how the Virtues
 Come before her.'

The promise here is rich indeed, and the performance also is rich; though it may fairly be said that various sections fall considerably below one's expectations, and some of them are jejune enough. But, after every deduction has been made, the work fills a niche of its own, and without competitor.

I add a few of the details most germane to our purpose.

A young girl should drink but little, and that diluted. She must not loll at table, nor prop her arms thereon. Here she should speak even less than at other times. The daughters of Knights (Cavalier da Scudo), Judges, Physicians, or others of similar condition, had better learn the art of cooking, though possibly circumstances will not call upon them to put it in practice.

A Princess approaching the marriageable age should not go out to church; as she ought, as far as possible, to avoid being seen about. (The marriageable age, be it understood, is very early by Barberino's reckoning, being twelve years.) A woman should never go out alone.

An unmarried young lady had better wear a topaz, which is proved by experience to be an antidote to carnal desire.

A Provençal gentleman, who was praising his wife for her extreme simplicity in attire, was asked, 'Why then does she comb her hair?' He replied: 'To show that she is a woman, whose very nature it is to be trim in person.'

A Lady's-maid should not tell tales to her mistress of any peccadilloes of the husband: still less should she report to the husband anything against his wife, unless it be a grave and open misdoing.

The section concerning Nurses (Part 13) contains much curious matter: especially as showing how much reliance was placed upon swaddling and other details of infant management, for the improvement of good looks, and correction of blemishes. Here we find also that the system against which Rousseau waged such earnest war, of mothers' not suckling their own children, was already in full vigour in Barberino's time. He enters no protest against it; but does recommend mothers to follow the more natural plan, if they can, and so please God, and earn the children's love.¹

A she-Barber must not ogle or flirt with her customers, but attend to her washes and razors. A Fruiteress must not put green leaves with old fruits, nor the best fruits uppermost, to take her customers in. A Landlady must not sell re-cooked victuals.

¹ Matteo Palmieri (see p. 58) indicates that the state of things was the same in his time, about 1430: he is more decided than Barberino in condemning it.

A shrew earns the stick sometimes ; nor should that form of correction be spared to women who gad about after fortune-tellers.

Beware of a Doctor who scrutinizes your pretty face more than your symptoms. Also of a Tailor who wants to serve you gratis, or who is over-officious in trying on your clothes : and beware still more of a Tailor who is tremulous. If you go to any balls where men are present, let it be by day, or at any rate with abundance of light.

The use of thick unguents is uncleanly, especially in hot weather ; it makes the teeth black, the lips green, and the skin prematurely old-looking. Baths of soft water, not in excess, keep the skin young and fresh : but those in which hot herbs are boiled scorch and blacken it. Dark hair becomes lighter by being kept uncovered, especially in moonlight.

‘ Courtesy is liberal magnificence, which suffers not violence, nor ingenuity, nor obligation, but pleases of itself alone.’

To these brief jottings I subjoin one extract of some length, descriptive of the marriage-festivity of a Queen. To abridge its details would be to strip it of its value : but I apprehend that some of these details require to be taken *cum grano salis*, Barberino having allowed himself a certain poetical license.

Now it behoves to dine.
 The trumpets sound, and all the instruments,
 Sweet songs and diversions around.
 Boughs, with flowers, tapestries, and satins,
 Strewn on the ground ; and great lengths of silk
 With fine fringes and broiderings on the walls.
 Silver and gold, and the tables set out,
 Covered couches, and the joyous chambers,
 Full kitchens and various dishes ;
 Donzels deft in serving,
 And among them damsels still more so.
 Tourneying in the cloisters and pathways ;
 Closed balconies and covered loggias ;
 Many cavaliers and people of worth,
 Ladies and damsels of great beauty.
 Old women hidden in prayer to God,
 Be they served there where they stay.
 Wines come in, and abundant comfits ;
 There are the fruits of various kinds.
 The birds sing in cages, and on the roofs :
 The stags leap, and fawns, and deer.
 Open gardens, and their scent spreads.
 There greyhounds and braches run in the leash.
 Pretty spaniel pets with the ladies :

Several parrots go about the tables.
 Falcons, ger-falcons, hawks, and sparrow-hawks,
 Carry various snakes all about.
 The palfreys houselled at the doors ;
 The doors open, and the halls partitioned
 As suits the people that have come.
 Expert seneschals and other officers.
 Bread of manna only, and the weather splendid.
 Fountains rise up from new springs :
 They sprinkle where they are wanted, and are beautiful.
 The trumpet sounds, and the bridegroom with his following
 Chooses his company as he likes.
 Ladies amorous, joyous, and lovely,
 Trained, and noble, and of like age,
 Take the bride, and usher her as befits :
 They give her place to sit at table.
 Now damsels and donzels around,
 The many ladies who have taken their seats,
 All prattle of love and joy.
 A gentle wind which keeps off the flies
 Tempers the air, and refreshes hearts.
 From the sun spring laughs in the fields :
 Nowhere can the eye settle.
 At your foot run delightful rills :
 At times the fish leap from the water.
 Jongleurs¹ clad by gift :
 Here vestments of fashion unprecedented,
 There with pearls and precious stones
 Upon their heads, and solemn garb :
 Here are rings which emit a splendour
 Like that of the sun outside.
 Now all the men and all the ladies have washed,
 And then the water is given to the bride :
 And I resume speaking of her deportment.
 Let her have washed her hands aforetime,
 So that she may then not greatly bedim the water.
 Let her not much set-to at washing in the basin,
 Nor touch mouth or teeth in washing :

¹ 'Uomin di corte.' This term was first applied to heralds, chamberlains, and the like court-officials: subsequently to the entertainers of a court, 'giullari,' jesters, and buffoons: and in process of time it came to include courtiers of whatever class. In the early writers—such as Barberino, Boccaccio, &c.—it is not always easy for a translator to pitch upon the precise equivalent: the reader should understand a personage who might be as romantic as a Troubadour, or as quaint as a Touchstone—but tending rather towards the latter extreme.

For she can do this afterwards in her chamber,
When it shall be needful and fitting.
Of the savoury and nicest viands
Let her accept, but little, and avoid eating many :
And let her, several days before, have noted
The other customs above written ;
Here let her observe those which beseem the place.
Let her not intervene to reprehend the servitors,
Nor yet speak, unless occasion requires.
Let it appear that she hardly minds any diversion,
But that only timidity quenches her pleasure :
But let her, in eating, so manage her hands
That, in washing, the clear water may remain.
The table being removed, let her stay with the ladies
Somewhat more freely than at her arrival :
Yet for this day let her, I pray,
Abstain from laughing as far as she can, keeping
Her countenance so as not to appear out of humour,
But only timid, as has often been said.
If the other ladies sleep that day,
Let her also repose among them,
And prepare herself the better for keeping awake.
Let her drinking be small. I approve a light collation,
Eating little : and in like wise at supper
Let her avoid too many comfits or fruits :
Let her make it rather slight than heavy.

Some ladies make ready to go,
And some others to retire to their chambers.
Those remain who are in charge of her :
All approach to cheer her.
She embraces her intimates :
Let her make the kindest demonstrations to all—
'Adieu, adieu'—tearful at parting.
They all cheer her up, and beg her to be
Confident, and many vouch
That her husband has gone to a distance :
Her guardians say the same.
They bring her inwards to a new chamber,
Whose walls are so draped
That nothing is seen save silk and gold ;
The coverlets starred, and with moons.
The stones shine as it were the sun :
At the corners four rubies lift up a flame
So lovely that it touches the heart :
Here a man kindles inside and out.
Richest cambrics cover the floor.

Here baldaquins and the benches around
 All covered with woven pearls ;
 Pillows all of smooth samite,
 With the down of griffin-birds¹ inside ;
 Many topazes, sapphires, and emeralds,
 With various stones, as buttons to these.
 Beds loaded on beds with no bedstead,
 Draped all with foreign cloths : ²
 Above the others the chiefest and soft,
 With a new covering of byssus.³
 Of this the down is from the phoenix-bird : ⁴
 It has one bolster and no more,
 Not too large, but of fine form.
 Over it sheets of worked silk,
 Soft, yielding, delicate, and durable :
 A superb quilt, and cuttings-out⁵ within ;
 And, traced with the needle and of various cutting,
 Fishes and birds and all animals.
 A vine goes round the whole,
 The twigs of pearls, and the foliage of gems,
 Among which are those of all virtues,
 Written of or named as excellent.
 In the midst of it turns a wheel
 Which represents the figure of the world ;
 Wherein birds, in windows of glass,
 Sing if you will, and if not they are all mute.
 There puppies of various kinds,
 Not troublesome, and they make no noise :
 If you call them, they make much of you.
 On the benches flowers heaped and strewn—
 Great is the odour, but not excessive :
 Much balsam in vessels of crystal.

¹ 'Uccelli grifoni.' This seems a daring suggestion : possibly, as a griffin is a compound of eagle and lion, we are to understand that the eagle is the griffin-bird.

² 'Drappi ultramarin'—which *may* mean foreign (from beyond sea), or else of ultramarine colour : I rather suppose the former.

³ 'Lana di pesce'—literally, fish's wool. The term is new to me, nor do I find it explained in dictionaries : I can only therefore surmise that it designates the silky filaments of certain sea-mollusks, such as the pinna of the Mediterranean. This byssus is still made use of in Italy for gloves and similar articles.

⁴ !!

⁵ 'Intagl;' and the next line gives the word 'Scolture. Giovanni Villani notes that in 1330 a prohibition was issued against 'dresses cut-out or painted :' the fashion having run into the extravagance of 'dresses cut-out with different sorts of cloth, and made of stuffs trimmed variously with silks.'

A nurse says : ' All things are yours.
You will lie by yourself in that bed :
We will all be sleeping here.'
They show her the wardrobe at one side,
Wherein they say that they remain keeping watch.
They wash the Lady's face and hands
With rose-water mixed with violets,
For in that country such is the wont.
They dress her hair, wind up her tresses,
Stand round about her, help her to disrobe.
Who takes her shoes off, happy she !
Her shoes are by no means of leather.
They look her in the face whether she is timorous :
She prays them to stay.
They tell her that they will sleep outside the bed,
At her feet, on the cloths I have spoken of.
They make-believe to do so, and the Lady smiles.
They put her to bed : first they hold her,—
They turn the quilt over : and, her face being displayed,
All the shows of gems and draperies
Wane before that amorous beauty
Which issues from the eyes she turns around.
Her visage shines : the nurses disappear :
The Lady closes her eyes, and sleeps.

Then these nurses trick the Lady.
They leave by the door which they had not shown her :
They go to the bridegroom who is waiting outside.
Him they tell of the trick.
There come around the new knight,
Young lord, puissant crown,
Many donzels and knights who wait
Solely for his chamber-service.
They give him water, as to the Lady :
His blond head each adorns,
Bright his countenance. Every one
Has gladness and joy, glad in his happiness.
They leave him in his jerkin, they bring him within :
They take off his shoes at the draped entry.
They all without, and the nurses at one side,
Stay quiet. A *réveillée* begins,
And so far off that it gives no annoy.

The comely King crosses himself, and looks :
The Lady and the gems make a great splendour,
And it seems to him that this Queen is asleep.
He enters softly, and wholly undresses :
It appears that the Lady heaves a sigh.

The King is scared : he covers himself up in the bed.
 He signals to the birds to sing :
 They all begin, one by one, and low.¹
 The signal tells them to raise their note :
 Higher they rise in singing—and perchance
 This noise may wake the Lady up.
 Again he signals that they should all trill louder.

The Lady heaves a sigh, and asks,
 ‘Who is there?’—Says the King : ‘I am one
 Whom thy beauties have brought hither.’
 She is troubled, and calls the nurses.
 The King replies : ‘I have turned them all out.
 She moves, wanting to get up :
 She finds no clothes, for they have carried them away.
 The King remains quiet, and waits to see
 In what way he may be able to please her,
 And says to her : ‘I have only come hither
 To speak to thee a few words :
 Listen a little, and then I will go.’

An elaborate dialogue ensues, conducted on the most high-paced footing of enamoured courtesy. It contains the strangely beautiful passage translated in my brother's *Early Italian Poets*, and which I reproduce here ; taking therewith my leave both of this singular specimen of how Kings and Queens might, would, could, or should confer on their bridal-night, and also of Francesco da Barberino himself. The Queen is the speaker.

‘Do not conceive that I shall here recount
 All my own beauty : yet I promise you
 That you, by what I tell, shall understand
 All that befits and that is well to know.
 My bosom, which is very softly made,
 Of a white even colour without stain,
 Bears two fair apples, fragrant, sweetly savoured,
 Gathered together from the Tree of Life
 The which is in the midst of Paradise.
 And these no person ever yet has touched ;
 For out of nurse's and of mother's hands
 I was when God in secret gave them me.

¹ These seem to be very obedient birds : and their position, behind glass windows in a globe figuring the world, was rather an odd one to modern notions. The reader will keep me company in guessing whether or not we are to take the whole description *au pied de la lettre*.

These ere I yield I must know well to whom ;
 And, for that I would not be robbed of them,
 I speak not all the virtue that they have :
 Yet thus far speaking— Blessed were the man
 Who once should touch them, were it but a little :
 See them I say not, for that might not be.
 My girdle, clipping pleasure round-about,
 Over my clear dress even unto my knees
 Hangs down with sweet precision tenderly ;
 And under it Virginitie abides.
 Faithful and simple and of plain belief
 She is, with her fair garland bright like gold,
 And very fearful if she overhears
 Speech of herself ; the wherefore ye perceive
 That I speak soft lest she be made ashamed.
 Lo ! this is she who hath for company
 The Son of God, and Mother of the Son.
 Lo ! this is she who sits with many in heaven :
 Lo ! this is she with whom are few on earth.'

Tiraboschi mentions a book which might perhaps be useful in further illustrating Italian manners at the end of the 13th century : but I have no direct knowledge of it,—a Treatise on the Governing of a Family, written by Sandro di Pippozzo in 1299. A treatise on Moral Virtues (*Sopra le Virtù Morali*) was composed by Graziolo de' Bombaglioli, a Bolognese, in Italian verse, with a comment in Latin, the date being about the middle of the 14th century ; and was published in 1642, being at that time mistakenly attributed to King Robert of Naples. It is not a Courtesy-Book ; but, referring back to what has been said (on p. 12) regarding the definitions of nobility given by Brunetto Latini, Dante, and Barberino, I may cite part of what Bombaglioli says on the same subject :

'Neither long-standing wealth nor blood confers nobility ;
 But virtue makes a man noble (*gentile*) ;
 And it lifts from a vile place
 A man who makes himself lofty by his goodness.'

A third and older book, no doubt very much to our purpose, would be one which Ubaldini (in his edition of Barberino's *Reggimento*) refers to as having been laid under contribution by that poet in compiling his *Documenti d'Amore*—viz. a rhymed composition, in the Romagnole dialect, on Methods of Salutation, by Ugolino Brucola

(or Bruzola). This work, again, is unknown to me; and, as I can trace no mention of it even in Tiraboschi, a writer of most omnivorous digestion, I infer that it may not improbably have perished.

Skipping therefore about a century and a quarter, within which Italian literature was made for ever illustrious by the *Commedia* of Dante, and the writings of Petrarca and Boccaccio, not to speak of others, we come to the early 15th century, still in Florence.

Agnolo Pandolfini wrote on the same subject as Sandro di Pippozzo, the Governing of a Family (*Del Governo della Famiglia*). He died in 1446, aged about 86; and the date of his treatise seems to be towards 1425—30. This work must not be confounded with one bearing the same title, frequently cited in the *Dizionario della Crusca*, and which deals more particularly with morals and religion. Pandolfini, both by birth and doings, was a very illustrious son of Florence: in 1414, 1420, and 1431, he held the highest dignity of the state, that of Gonfalonier of Justice. He opposed the banishment of Cosmo de' Medici, and was treated with distinguished honour by that great though dangerous citizen on his return. His treatise takes the form of a dialogue, wherein Agnolo holds forth *ore rotundo* to his sons and grandsons. The old gentleman is indeed fearfully oracular, and possessed with a fathomless belief in himself. He writes well, and with plenty of good sense. His book is not, in the strictest acceptation of the term, a Courtesy-Book, but rather a cross between the moral and the prudential—a dissertation of Economics. Here are some samples of his lore.

To choose a house wherein one can settle comfortably for life is a great consideration. A locality with good air and good wine should be sought out: better to buy it than to rent it. The whole family should have one roof, one entrance-door, one fire, and one dining-table: this subserves the purposes both of affection and of thrift.

The family and household should be well dressed. Even when living a country life, they should keep on the town dress: good cloth and cheerful colours, but without fancy-ornaments save for the women.

The head of the family should commit to his wife the immediate care of the household goods: men, however careful, should not be poking and prying into every corner, and looking whether the candles have too thick a wick. 'It is well for every lady to know

how to cook, and prepare all choice viands ; to learn this from cooks when they come to the house for banquets ; to see them at work, ask questions, learn, and bear in mind, so that, when guests come who ought to be received with welcome, the ladies may know and order all the best things—and so not have to send every time for cooks. This cannot be done at a moment's notice, and especially when one is in the country, where good cooks are not to be had, and strangers are more in the way of being asked. Not indeed that the lady is to cook ; but she should order, teach, and show the less skilful servants to do everything in the best way, and make the best dishes suitable to the season and the guests.'

'I [the infallible Agnolo Pandolfini] always liked so to order the household that, at whatever hour of day or night, there should always be some one at home to look after all casualties that might happen to the inmates. And I always kept in the house a goose and a dog—wakeful animals, and, as we see, suspicious and attached ; so that, one of them rousing the other, and calling up the household, the house might always be secure.'

Always buy of the best—food, clothes, &c., &c. 'Good things cost less than the not good.'

That Agnolo Pandolfini was regarded as a great authority not by himself alone is proved by the fact that Matteo Palmieri, the author of a Dialogue on Civil Life (*Della Vita Civile*), makes him the principal speaker. And this was perhaps even during Agnolo's lifetime : the assumed date of the colloquy being 1430 (very much the same as that of Pandolfini's own book), and the actual date of composition being probably enough not many years later. Palmieri was born in Florence in 1405, and died in 1475, honoured for conspicuous integrity, and distinguished by many public employments. The *Vita Civile* is regarded as his most important literary work. The interlocutors, besides Pandolfini, are a Sacchetti and a Guicciardini. The subject-matter is more grave and weighty than that of a Courtesy-Book strictly so called, though we may dip into it for a detail or two. The following is Palmieri's own account of the work :

'The whole performance is divided into four books. In the 1st the new-born boy is diligently conducted up to the perfect age of man ; showing by what nurture and according to what arts he should prove more excellent than others. The following two books are written concerning Uprightness ; and express in what manner the man of perfect age should act, in private and in public, according to every moral virtue. Whence, in the former of these, Temperance,

Fortitude, and Prudence, are treated of at large—also other virtues comprised in these. The next is 3rd in order, and is all devoted to Justice, which is the noblest part of men, and above all others necessary for maintaining every well-ordered commonwealth. Wherefore here is diffusely treated of Civil Justice; how people should conduct themselves in peace; and how wars are managed; how, within the city by those who hold the magistracies, and beyond the walls by the public officials, the general well-being is provided for. The last book alone is written concerning Utility, and provides for the plenty, ornament, property, and abundant riches, of the whole body politic. Then in the final portion, as last conclusion, is shown, not without true doctrine, what is the state of the souls which in the world, intent upon public good, have lived according to the precepts of life here set forth by us; in reward whereof they have been by God received into heaven, to be happy eternally in glory with his saints.'

Palmieri would have boys eschew any sedentary pastimes. They may jump, run, and play at ball; and music is highly suitable for them. To beat them is a barbarism. This may indeed, sometimes and perhaps, be necessary with boys 'who are to follow mechanical and servile arts,' but not with those who are carefully brought up by father and preceptor. Begin with encouragements to the well-behaved, and admonitions to the naughty: and the severer punishments should be 'to shut him in; to withhold such food and other things as he best likes, to take away his clothing, and so on; to make him ponder long while over his misdoing.' (This is singularly gentle discipline for A.D. 1430: indeed Palmieri intimates that 'almost all people' advocated manual correction in his time. Had any other writer, of so early a date, discovered that 'spare the rod and spoil the child' is not the sum-total of management for minors?)

A dinner-party is considered well made up, in point of numbers, if the persons present are not less than three, nor more than nine. A larger number than the latter cannot all join together in united conversation.

'The expenses of a munificent man should be in things that bring honour and distinction; not private, but public—as in buildings, and ornaments of churches, theatres, loggias, public feasts, games, entertainments; and in such like magnificences he should not compute nor reckon how much he spends, but by what means the works may be to the utmost wonderful and beautiful.' (Nice

doctrine this for some of our conscript fathers in England, whose perennial diligence is, as Carlyle says, 'preserving their game.' But the Florentine Republic was in that outcast condition that the noblemen were not only not hereditary legislators, but were *ipso facto* excluded from all public employment, unless they enrolled themselves in the commonalty by belonging to one of the legislating guilds.)

Both Pandolfini and Palmieri are authors of good repute in Italian literature : but by no means equal to the writer next on our list, Baldassar Castiglione, with his book named *The Courtier (Il Cortigiano)*. This is a remarkably choice example of Italian prose ; which is the more satisfactory because Castiglione was not a Tuscan, but a Mantuan, and a proclaimed enemy of that narrow literary creed, the palladium of pedants and ever-recurring bane of strong individualism among Italian writers, that, save in the Florentine-Tuscan language (or dialect) of the '*buon secolo*,' the days of Petrarca and Boccaccio, there is no orthodoxy of diction. Some noticeable details on this point are to be found in the *Cortigiano* : showing that the ultra-purists of that time insisted upon the use by writers, whether Tuscan or belonging to other parts of Italy, of words occurring in Petrarca and Boccaccio already quite obsolete and hardly intelligible even in Tuscany—and also upon the use of corrupt forms of words framed from the Latin, because these pertained to the Tuscan idiom, even although correct forms of the same words were in current use in other Italian regions. In all such regards Castiglione claims for himself unfettered latitude of choice : the verbal precisian, scared at his theoretic license, is surprised and relieved to find that after all the book is not only endurable in style, even to his own punctilious ears, but particularly elegant.

Baldassar Castiglione was born on the 6th of December 1478¹ at Casatico, in the Mantuan territory. Noble and handsome, he grew up almost universally accomplished and learned ; a distinguished connoisseur ; and valued by all the most eminent men of his time. His full-length portrait appears in one of the frescoes of

¹ Tiraboschi says 1463 ; but that, as far as I can trace, is a mistake.

Raphael in the Stanze of the Vatican. He went on many embassies—among others, to England. Henry VIII., of whose youthful promise he speaks in the most rapturous terms, knighted him: the Emperor Charles V. said that by Castiglione's death chivalry lost its brightest luminary. His career closed at Toledo on the 2nd of February 1529. Among his writings are poems in Latin and Italian, but his chief work is the *Cortigiano*. This was composed between the years 1508 and 1518; and published in 1528, in a state which its author regarded as somewhat hurried and incomplete. It is written in the narrative form, but consisting principally of dialogue, or indeed of successive monologues; and purports to relate certain *conversazioni* (rightly to be so called) which were held in 1506 in the court of Urbino, for the delectation of the Duchess Elisabetta della Rovere (by birth a Gonzaga) and her ladies. The topic proposed for treatment is—what should a perfectly qualified Courtier be like? The principal speakers on the general subject are the Conte Lodovico da Canossa, Federico Fregoso, and Ottavian Fregoso; Bernardo Bibiena takes up the special question of *facetie*, and Giuliano de' Medici speaks of the Court Lady, and generally in honour of women.

The term Courtier has not a very exalted sound to a modern or English ear: but Castiglione's ideal Courtier is a truly noble and gallant gentleman, furnished with all sorts of solid no less than splendid qualities. His ultimate *raison d'être* is that he should always, through good and evil report, tell his sovereign the strict truth of all things which it behoves him to know—certainly a sufficiently honourable and handsomely unfulfilled duty. The tone throughout is lofty, and of more than conventional or courtly rectitude:¹ indeed, the book as a whole is hardly what one associates mentally with the era of Pagan Popes,—of a Caesar Borgia just cleared off from Romagna, and an Alessandro de' Medici impending over Florence.

¹ It may be fair to state that the work, as first published, was put in the Roman index of prohibited books; and that the reissues (including no doubt the edition known to me) have omitted the inculpatèd passages. Whether these were objected to on moral or rather on ecclesiastical grounds I cannot affirm: the book as now printed is not only quite free from immoralities, but is decidedly moral, whereas there remains at least one passage of a tone such as churchmen resent *ex officio*.

Almost the only illustration which Castiglione supplies of the art of dining is the following anecdote :

‘The Marquis Federico of Mantua, father of our Lady Duchess, being at table with many gentlemen, one of them, after he had eaten a whole stew, said, “My Lord Marquis, pardon me ;” and, so saying, he began to suck up the broth that was left. Forthwith then said the Marquis : “You should ask pardon of the pigs, for to me there is no harm done at all !”’

Some other points I take as they come.

‘Having many a time reflected wherefrom Grace arises (not to speak of those who derive it from the stars), I find one most universal rule, which seems to me to hold good, in this regard, in all human things done and said, more than aught else ; and this is—to avoid affectation as much as one can, and as a most bristling and perilous rock, and (to use perhaps a new-coined word) to do everything with a certain slightingness [*sprezzatura*], which shall conceal art, and show that what is done and said comes to one without trouble and almost without thinking.’ Yet there may be as much affectation in slightingness itself as in punctilio. Instances adduced of the latter, as regards the care of the person, are the setting a scrap of looking-glass in a recess of one’s cap, and a comb in one’s sleeve, and keeping a page to follow one perpetually about with a sponge and a clothes-brush. Female affectations were ‘the plucking out the hair of eyebrows and forehead, and undergoing all those inconveniences which you ladies fancy to be altogether occult from men, and which nevertheless are all known.’

The perfect Courtier ought to know music—sing at sight, and play on various instruments ; he ought also to have a practical knowledge of drawing and painting. Better even than singing at sight is singing solo to the viol, and most especially thus singing in recitative [*per recitare*], ‘which adds to the words so much grace and force that great marvel it is.’ All stringed instruments are well suited for the Courtier ; not so wind-instruments, ‘which Minerva interdicted to Alcibiades, because they have an unseemly air.’ The Court Lady also ought to have knowledge of letters, music, and painting, as well as of dancing, and how to bear her part in entertainments [*festeggiare*].

‘Old men blame in us many things which, of themselves, are neither good nor bad, but only because *they* used not to do them : and they say that it is unbefitting for young men to go through the city riding, especially on mules ; to wear in the winter fur linings and long robes ; to wear a cap [*berretta*], at any rate until the man has reached eighteen years of age,—and other the like things. Wherein in sooth they mistake : for these customs, besides being convenient and serviceable, are introduced by fashion, and universally accepted,—as aforetime to dress in the open tunic [*giornea*], with open

hose and polished shoes, and for gallantry to carry all day a hawk on the fist for no reason, and to dance without touching the lady's hand, and to adopt many other modes which, as they would now be most awkward, so then were they highly prized.'

Federico Fregoso, the chief speaker of the second evening, is of opinion that a man of rank ought not to honour with his presence a village feast, where the spectators and company would be coarse people. To this Gaspar Pallavicino demurs; saying that, in his native Lombardy, many young noblemen will dance all day under the sun with country people, and play with them at wrestling, running, leaping, and so on—exercises of strength and dexterity in which the countrymen are often the winners. Fregoso rejoins that this, if done at all, should be not by way of emulation but of complaisance, and when the nobleman feels tolerably sure of conquering; and generally, in all sorts of exercises save feats of arms, he should stop short of anything like professional zeal or excellence. [A concluding hint worth consideration in these days of 'Athletic Clubs.']

The discourse of Bernardo Bibiena on *facetie* is a magazine of good things, both anecdotic, epigrammatic, and critical. The speaker is particularly severe on 'funny men' and 'jolly dogs'; concerning whom I venture to introduce one consecutive extract of some little length.

'THE COURTIER should be very heedful of his beginnings, so as to leave a pleasing impression, and should consider how baneful and fatal it is to fall into the contrary. And this danger do they more than others run who make it their business to be amusing, and assume with these their quips a certain liberty authorizing and licensing them to do and say whatever strikes them, without any consideration. Thus these people start off on matters whence, not knowing their way out again, they try to help themselves off by raising a laugh: and this also they do so scurvily that it fails; so that they occasion the severest tedium to those who see and hear them, and they themselves remain most crestfallen. Sometimes, thinking thus to be witty and lively, in the presence of ladies of honour, and often even in speaking to them, they set to at uttering most nasty and indecent words: and, the more they see them blush, so much the more do they account themselves good courtiers: and ever and anon they laugh and plume themselves at so bright a gift which they think their own. But for no purpose do they commit so many imbecilities as in order to be thought "boon companions." This is that only name which appears to them worthy of praise, and which they vaunt more than any other; and, to acquire it, they bandy the most blundering and vile blackguardisms in the world. Often will they shove one another down-stairs; knock ribs with bludgeons and bricks; throw handfuls of dust into the eyes; and bring down people's horses upon them in ditches, or on the slope of a hill. Then, at

table, soups, sauces, jellies, all do they flop in one another's face : and then they laugh ! And he who can do the most of these things accounts himself the best and most gallant courtier, and fancies he has gained great glory. And, if sometimes they invite a gentleman to these their pleasantries, and he abstains from such horse-play, forthwith they say that he makes himself too sage and grand, and is not a "boon companion." But worse remains to tell. There are some who vie and wager which of them can eat and drink the most nauseous and fetid things ; and these they hunt up so abhorrent to human senses that it is impossible to mention them without the utmost disgust.—"And what may these be?" said Signor Lodovico Pio.—Messer Federico replied : "Let the Marquis Febus [da Ceva] tell you, as he has often seen them in France ; and perhaps the thing has happened to himself."—The Marquis Febus replied : "I have seen nothing of the sort done in France that is not also done in Italy. But, on the other hand, what is praiseworthy in Italian habits of dress, festivities, banqueting, fighting, and whatever else becomes a courtier, is all derived from the French."—"I deny not," answered Messer Federico, "that there are among the French also most noble and unassuming cavaliers : and I for my part have known many truly worthy of all praise. Yet some are to be found by no means well-bred : and, speaking generally, it appears to me that the Spaniards get on better in manner with the Italians than the French do ; since that calm gravity peculiar to the Spaniards seems to me much more conformable to us than the rapid liveliness which is to be recognized almost in every movement of the French race—which in them is not derogatory, and even has grace, because to themselves it is so natural and appropriate that it indicates no sort of affectation in them. There are indeed many Italians who would fain force themselves to imitate that manner ; and they can manage nothing else than jogging the head in speaking, and bowing sideways with a bad grace, and, when they are walking about, going so fast that the grooms cannot keep up with them. And with these modes they fancy they are good French people, and partake of their offhand ways : a thing indeed which seldom succeeds save with those who have been brought up in France, and have got into these habits from childhood upwards."

The reader will probably agree with me in thinking that Castiglione's own opinion is expressed here rather in the speech of Federico Fregoso than of the Marquis Febus ; and that the all-accomplished Italian patrician of the opening sixteenth century by no means regarded the French as the courteous nation *par excellence*. Elsewhere it is remarked that the French recognize nobility in arms only, and utterly despise letters and literary men ; and that presumption is a leading trait in the national character.

Castiglione does not seem to have entertained the same objection to gesturing that Francesco da Barberino did. In amusing narration or story-telling, at any rate, he approves of this accompaniment; speaking of people who 'relate and express so pleasantly something which may have happened to them, or which they have seen or heard, that with gestures and words they set it before your eyes, and make you almost lay your hand upon it.'

The banefulness of a wicked Courtier is set forth in strong terms.

'No punishment has yet been invented horrid and tremendous enough for chastising those wicked Courtiers who direct to a bad end their elegant and pleasant manners and good breeding, and by these means creep into the good graces of their sovereigns, to corrupt them, and divert them from the path of virtue, and lead them into vice: for such people may be said to infect with mortal poison, not a vessel of which one only person has to drink, but the public fountain which the whole population uses.'

The last two authors on our list, Giovanni Battista Possevini and Giovanni della Casa, will bring us to about the middle of the sixteenth century; beyond which I do not propose to pursue the subject of Italian Courtesy-Books. We are now fairly out of the middle ages, and in the full career of transition from the old to the new. Indeed, were it not that Della Casa's work, *Il Galateo*, is so peculiarly apposite to our purpose. I might have been disposed to leave both these writers aside as a trifle too modern in date: but, coming closer as that does to the exact definition of a Courtesy-Book than any other of the compositions which we have been considering, it must perforce find admission here,—and a few words may at the same time be spared to Possevini, who introduces us to a special department of manners. And first of Possevini.

This writer was (like Castiglione) a Mantuan, and died young—perhaps barely aged thirty. A famous man of letters, Paolo Giovio, found him to be 'a son of melancholy, and so learned, according to the title of Christ on the cross,¹ as to make one marvel: he is a good poet.' The book we have to deal with is of considerable size, a

¹ A noticeable proverbial phrase. It is new to me; but I suppose it means either 'learned in Hebrew, Greek, and Latin' (the three languages in which the inscription over the cross was written), or else perhaps 'learned in languages generally.'

Dialogue concerning Honour (*Dialogo dell' Onore*): it was published in 1553, after the author's death, which seems to have occurred towards 1550. Possevini is charged with having borrowed freely from another writer, who devoted himself to the denunciation of duelling, Antonio Bernardi; although indeed the *publication* of Bernardi's book did not take place till some years after the posthumous work of Possevini was in print. The special subject of the latter, as we have said, is honour—the quality and laws of honour, with a leading though not exclusive reference to the duelling system. Many other Italian writers of this period discussed that latter question, some upholding and some reprobating the institution. Possevini is certainly not one of its adversaries, but debates many of the ancillary points with the particularity of a casuist. The few items which I shall extract are cited more as curiosities than as fairly representing the substance of the book.

A man of letters affronted by a military man is not—so Possevini lays it down—bound to call him out, for the duel is not his vocation. If he is depreciated in his literary character, it is in writing that he should respond: if he is otherwise damnified, let him appeal to the magistrate. But this latter course is not permitted to a soldier: fighting is his business, and he must have recourse to the sword. The maxim that, in duel, one is bound either to slay one's adversary, or take him prisoner, is barbarous: it should suffice to make him recant or apologize, or to wound him, or to reduce him to surrender and humiliation.

A man who marries a professional courtesan lowers himself; yet not so far as that he can properly be refused as a duellist, or as a magistrate, or in other matters pertaining to honour. A husband who connives at his own dishonour, either by positive intention or by stupidity exceeding a certain limit, should be refused as above; not so a betrayed husband who has taken any ordinary precautions. The husband who detects his wife in adultery, without resenting it, is a dishonoured man: yet to kill her is beyond the mark,—to divorce her, contrary to canon law. He should obtain a legal abrogation of the wife's dowry, or else, as a milder course, send her back to her own people, and have no sort of knowledge of her thenceforth.

Monsignor Giovanni della Casa, created Archbishop of Benevento in 1544, was born of noble Florentine parentage on the 28th of June 1503, and died on the 14th of November 1556. He ranks as one of the best Latin and Italian poets of his century; but some of

his poems are noted for licentiousness, and are even reputed to have damaged his ecclesiastical career, and lost him a Cardinal's hat. The works thus impugned appear all to belong to his youth. He had already obtained some church-preferment, and was settled in Rome, by the year 1538. On the election of Pope Julius III., in 1550, Della Casa lived privately in the city or territory of Venice, in great state, and distinguished for courteous and charitable munificence. Paul IV., who succeeded to the papacy in 1555, recalled him to Rome, and created him Secretary of State.

The *Galateo* (written, I presume, somewhere about 1550) has always been a very famous book in Italy; and of that sort of fame which includes great general as well as literary acceptance. It is a model of strong sententious Tuscan; approaching the pedantic, yet racily idiomatic at the same time. The title in full runs *Galateo, or concerning Manners; wherein, in the Character of an Elderly Man [Vecchio Idiota] instructing a Youth, are set forth the things which ought to be observed and avoided in ordinary intercourse*. The paragraphs are numbered, and amount to 180.¹ The name *Galateo* is

¹ That most capital and characteristic book, the Autobiography of the tragedian Alfieri, contains a reference to the *Galateo*, which, longish as it is, I am tempted to extract. 'My worthy Paciaudi was wont to advise me not to neglect, amid my laborious readings, works in prose, which he learnedly termed the nurse of poetry. As regards this, I remember that one day he brought me the *Galateo* of Della Casa; recommending me to ponder it well with respect to the turn of speech, which assuredly is pure Tuscan, and the reverse of all Frenchifying. I, who in boyhood had (as we all have) read it loosely, understood it little, and relished it not at all, felt almost offended at this schoolboyish and pedantic advice. Full of venom against the said *Galateo*, I opened it. And, at the sight of that first *Conciossiacosachè*, to which is trailed-on that long sentence so pompous and so wanting in pith, such an impulse of rage seized me that, hurling the book out of window, I cried like a maniac: "Surely a hard and disgusting necessity, that, in order to write tragedies at the age of twenty-seven, I must swallow down again this childish chatter, and relax my brain with such pedantries!" He smiled at my uneducated poetic *furor*; and prophesied that I would yet read the *Galateo*, and that more than once. And so it turned out; but several years afterwards, when I had thoroughly hardened my neck and shoulders to bear the grammatical yoke. And I read not only the *Galateo*, but almost all our prose writers of the fourteenth century, and annotated them too: with what profit I cannot say. But true it is that, were any one to give them a good reading as regards their turn of phrase, and to manage availing himself with judgment and skill of their array, rejecting the cast clothes of their ideas, he might perhaps afterwards, in his writings as well philosophic as poetic or historic, or of any other class, give a richness, brevity, propriety, and force of

given to the book in consequence of a little anecdote which it introduces, apparently from real life. There was once a Bishop of Verona named Giovanni Matteo Giberti, noted for liberality. He entertained at his house a certain Count Ricciardo—a highly accomplished nobleman, but addicted (*proh pudor!*) to eating his victuals with ‘an uncouth action of lips and mouth, masticating at table with a novel noise very unpleasing to hear.’ The Bishop therefore deemed it the kindest thing he could do to have the Count escorted on his homeward way by a remarkably discreet, well-bred, and experienced gentleman of the episcopal household, named Galateo, who wound up a handsome compliment at parting with a plain exposition of the guest’s peccadillo. His own misdoing was news to the Count: but he took the information altogether in good part, and seriously promised amendment.

Let us now dip into the *Galateo* for a few axioms; first on dining, and afterwards on other points of manners.

You must not smell at the wine-cup or the platter of any one, not even at your own; nor hand the wine which you have tasted to another, unless your very intimate friend; still less offer him any fruit at which you have bitten. Some monsters thrust their snouts, like pigs, into their broth, and never raise their eyes or hands from the victuals, and gorge rather than eat with swollen cheeks, as if they were blowing at a trumpet or a fire; and, soiling their arms almost to the elbows, make a fearful mess of their napkins.¹ And these same napkins they will use to wipe off perspiration, and even to blow their noses. You must not so soil your fingers as to make the napkin nasty in wiping them: neither clean them upon the bread which you are to eat: [we should hope not]. In company, and most especially at table, you should not bully nor beat any servants;

colour, to his style, which I have not as yet seen fully gracing any Italian writer.’ A word or two may be spared to the formidable-looking vocable *Conciossiacosachè* which so excited Alfieri’s bile. It might be translated literally as ‘Herewith-be-something-that;’ and corresponds in practice to the English ‘Forasmuch as’—or more briefly ‘since,’ or ‘as.’ The Italian word *poichè* serves all the same uses, save that of longwindedness. But *Conciossiacosachè* itself is not lengthy enough for some Italian lips: and I believe that even the phrase into which it has sometimes been prolonged—‘Con ciò sia cosa fosse massimamente che’—has been used for other than burlesquing purposes.

¹ The comparison whereby our Archbishop illustrates the condition of the napkins must perfume our page only in its native Italian—‘Che le pezze degli agiamenti sono più neite.’

nor must you express anger, whatever may occur to excite it; nor talk of any distressful matters—wounds, illnesses, deaths, or pestilence. If any one falls into this mistake, the conversation should be dexterously changed: ‘although, as I once heard said by a worthy man our neighbour, people often would be as much eased by crying as by laughing. And he affirmed that with this motive had the mournful fictions termed tragedies been first invented: so that, being set forth in theatres, as was then the practice, they might bring tears to the eyes of those who had need of this, and thus they, weeping, might be cured of their discomfort. But, be this as it may, for us it is not befitting to sadden the minds of those with whom we converse, especially on occasions when people have met for refreshment and recreation, and not to cry: and, if any one languishes with a longing to weep, right easy will it be to relieve him with strong mustard, or to set him somewhere over the smoke.’ You should not scratch yourself at table, nor spit; or, if spit you must, do it in a seemly way. Some nations have been so self-controlling as not to spit at all.¹ ‘We must also beware of eating so greedily that hence comes hiccupping or other disagreeable act; as he does who hurries so that he has to puff and blow, to the annoyance of the whole company.’ Rub not your teeth with the napkin—still less with your fingers: nor rinse out your mouth, nor spit forth wine. ‘Nor, on rising from table, is it a nice habit to carry your toothpick² in your mouth, like a bird which is in nest-building,—or behind the ear, like a barber.’ You must not hang the toothpick round your neck: it shows that you are ‘overmuch prepared and provided for the service of the gullet,’ and you might as well hang your spoon in the same way. Neither must you loll on the table; nor by gesture or sound symbolize your great relish of viands or wine—a habit fit only for tavern-keepers and toppers. Also you should not put people out of countenance by pressing them to eat or drink.

‘To present to another something from the plate before oneself does not seem to me well, unless he who presents is of much the

¹ This is affirmed by Xenophon of the Persians: he says in the *Cyropædia* that, both of old and in his own time, they did without either spitting or blowing the nose—a proof of temperance, and of energetic exercise which carried off the moisture of the body.

² *Stecco*. ‘Toothpick’ is the only appropriate technical sense for *stecco* given in the dictionaries; and I suppose it is correct here, although Della Casa’s very next sentence, denouncing the carrying of this implement round the neck, designates it by the word *stuzzicadenti*, and it seems odd that the two terms should be thus juxta-posed or opposed. If *stecco* does not in this passage really mean ‘toothpick,’ I should infer that it indicates some skewer-like object, used possibly as a fork—i. e. to secure the viands on the plate, while they are severed with a spoon, and by that conveyed to the mouth (see pp. 21 and 34 as to the use of spoon instead of fork in Bonvicino’s time). This would in fact be a sort of chop-stick. Such an inference is quite compatible with the general sense of the word *stecco*—any stake or splint of wood.

higher grade, so that the recipient is thereby honoured. For, among equals in condition, it looks as if he who offers the gift were setting himself up somehow as the superior: and sometimes that which a man gives is not to the taste of him it is given to. Besides, it implies that the dinner has no abundance of dishes, or is not well distributed, when one has too much, and another too little: and the master of the house might take it as an affront. However, in this one should do as others do, and not as it might be best to do in the abstract: and in such fashions it is better to err along with others than to be alone in well-doing. But, whatever may be the best course in this, you must not refuse what is offered you; for it would seem as if you slighted or reproved the donor.'

For one man to pledge another in the wine-cup is not an Italian usage, nor yet rightly nationalized, and should be avoided. Decline such an invitation; or confess yourself the worse drinker, and give but one sip to your wine. 'Thank God, among the many pests which have come to us from beyond the mountains, this vilest one has not yet reached us, of regarding drunkenness as not merely a laughing-matter, but even a merit.' The only time when you should wash hands in company is before going to table: you should do it then even though your hands be quite clean, 'so that he who dips with you into the same platter may know that for certain.'

Well-bred servitors, serving at table, must on no account scratch their heads or any other part of the body, nor thrust their hands anywhere under their clothes out of sight, but keep them 'visible and beyond all suspicion,' and scrupulously clean. Those who hand about plates or cups must abstain from spitting or coughing, and most especially from sneezing. If a pear or bread has been set to toast, the attendant must not blow off any ash-dust, but jog or otherwise nick it off. He must not offer his pocket-handkerchief to any one, though it be clean from the wash; for the person to whom it is offered has no assurance of that fact, and may find it distasteful. The usher must not take it upon himself to invite strangers, or to retain them to dine with his lord: if he does so, no one who knows his place will act on the invitation.

Scraping the teeth together, whistling, screaming, grinding stones, and rubbing iron, are grievous noises: and a man who has a bad voice should eschew singing, especially a solo. Coughing and sneezing must not be done loud. 'And there is also to be found such a person as, in yawning, will howl and bray like an ass; and another who, with his mouth still agape, *will* go on with his talk, and emits that voice, or rather that noise, which a mute produces when he tries to speak.' Indeed, much yawning should be altogether avoided: it shows that your company does not amuse you, and that you are in a vacant mood. 'And thus, when a man yawns among others who are idle and unoccupied, all they, as you may often have observed, yawn forthwith in response; as if the man had recalled to

their memory the thing which they would have done before, if only they had recollected it.' Other acts discourteous to the company you are in are—to fall asleep; to pace about the room, while others are seated in conversation; to take a letter out of your pouch, and read it; to set about paring your nails; or to hum between your teeth, play the devil's tattoo, or swing your legs. Also you must not nudge a man with your elbow in talking to him. Let us have no showing of tongue, nor overmuch stroking of beard, nor rubbing-together of hands, nor heaving of long-drawn sighs, nor shaking oneself up with a start, nor stretching, and singing-out of 'Dear me!'

Having used your pocket-handkerchief, don't open it out to inspect it.

'They are in the wrong whose mouths are always full of their babies, and their wife, and their nurse. "My little boy yesterday made me laugh so—only hear." "You never saw a sweeter child than my Momus." "My wife is so-and-so." "Said Cecchina:¹ and could you ever believe it of such a scatterbrain?" There is no man so unoccupied that he can either reply or attend to such nonsense: and the speaker becomes a nuisance to everybody.'

In walking, you should not indulge in too much action, as by sawing with your arms; nor should you stare other passers-by in the face, as if there were some marvel there.

'Now what shall I say of those who issue from the desk into company with a pen behind the ear? or those who hold a handkerchief in the mouth? or who lay one leg along the table? or who spit on their fingers?'

Some people offend by affected humility, which is indeed a practical lying. 'With these the company has a bad bargain whenever they come to a door; for they will for no consideration in the world pass on first, but they step across, and return back,—and so fence and resist with hands and arms that at every third step it becomes necessary to battle with them, and this destroys all peace and comfort, and sometimes the business which is in hand.'

This last caveat leads on the author to a passage of importance regarding ceremoniousness in general; from which we learn that that extreme of etiquette was still almost an innovation in Italy in the middle of the sixteenth century, and contrary to the national bias. This may surprise some readers; for certainly the courteous Italian of the later period, for all his characteristic 'naturalness,' has not been wanting in ceremony, and the elaboration of politeness of phrase in his writing is something observable—at least to Englishmen, the

¹ Cecchina is a double diminutive of Francesca; corresponding to 'Fannikin' or 'Fan.'

least ceremonious nation, I suppose, under heaven (and that is by no means a term of disparagement). I subjoin the passage from Della Casa, not a little condensed; followed by another, still more abridged, concerning the essence and right of elegant manners.

‘And therefore ceremonies (which we name, as you hear, by a foreign word, as not having one of our own—which shows that our ancestors knew them not, so that they could not give them any name)—ceremonies, I say, differ little, to my thinking, from lies and dreams, on account of their emptiness. As a worthy man has more than once shown me, those solemnities which the clergy use in relation to altars and the divine offices, and towards God and sacred things, are properly called “ceremonies.” But, as soon as men began to reverence one the other with artificial fashions beyond what is fitting, and to call each other “master” and “lord,” bowing and cringeing and bending in sign of reverence, and uncovering, and naming one another by far-sought titles, and kissing hands, as if theirs were sacred like those of priests,—somebody, as this new and silly usage had as yet no name, termed it “ceremoniousness”: I think, by way of ridicule. Which usage, beyond a doubt, is not native to us but foreign and barbarous, and imported, whencesoever it be, only of late into Italy,—which, unhappy, abased, and spiritless in her doings and influence, has grown and gloried only in vain words and superfluous titles. Ceremonies, then,—if we refer to the intention of those who practise them—are a vain indication of honour and reverence towards the person to whom they are addressed, set forth in words and shows, and concerned with titles and proffers. I say “vain” in so far as we honour in seeming those whom we hold in no reverence, and do sometimes despise. And yet, that we may not depart from the customs of others, we term them “*Illustrissimo Signor*” so-and-so, and “*Eccellentissimo Signor*” such-a-one: and in like wise we sometimes profess ourselves “most devoted servants” to some one whom we would rather dis-serve than serve. This usage, however, it is not for us individually to change—nay, we are compelled (as it is not our own fault, but that of the time) to second it; but this has to be done with discretion. Wherefore it is to be considered that ceremonies are practised either for profit, or for vanity, or by obligation. And every lie which is uttered for our own profit is a fraud and sin and a dishonest thing (as indeed one cannot in any sort of case lie with honour): and this sin do flatterers commit. And, if ceremonies are, as we said, lies and false flatteries, whenever we practise them with a view to gain we act like false and bad men: wherefore, with that view, no ceremony ought to be practised. Those which are practised by obligation must in no wise be omitted; for he who omits them is not only disliked but injurious. And thus he who addresses a single person as “*You*” (if it is not a person of the very lowest condition)

does him no favour: nay, were he to say "*Thou*," he would derogate from his due, and act insultingly and injuriously, naming him by the word which is usually reserved for poltroons and clodhoppers. And these I call "ceremonies of obligation": since they do not proceed from our own will, nor freely of our own choice, but are imposed upon us by the law—that is, by common usage. And he who is wont to be termed "*Signore*" by others, and himself in like manner to address others as "*Signore*," assumes that you condemn him or speak affrontingly when you call him simply by his name, or speak to him as "*Messere*," or blurt out a "*You*."¹ However, in these ceremonies of obligation, certain points should be observed, so that one may not seem either vain or haughty. And first, one should have regard to the country one lives in; for every usage is not apposite in every country. And perhaps that which is adopted by the Neapolitans, whose city abounds in men of great lineage, and in barons of lofty station, would not suit the Lucchese or Florentines, who for the most part are merchants and simply gentlemen, having among them neither princes nor marquises nor any baron. Besides this, regard must be paid to the occasion, to the age and condition of the person towards whom we practise ceremony, and to our own; and, with busy people, one should cut them off altogether, or at any rate shorten them as much as one can, and rather imply than express them: which the courtiers in Rome are very expert in. Neither are men of great virtue and excellence in the habit of practising many; nor do they like or seek that many be practised towards them, not being minded to waste much thought over trifling. Nor yet should artisans and persons of low condition care to practise very elaborate ceremonies towards great men and lords: for these rather than otherwise dislike such demonstrations at their hands—for their way is to seek and expect obedience more than civilities. And thus the servant who proffers his service to his master makes a mistake: for the master takes it amiss, and esteems that the servant wants to call in question his mastership,—as if his right were not to dictate and command. If you show a little suitable abundance of politeness to those who are your inferiors, you will be called courteous. And, if you do the same to your superiors, you will be termed well-bred and agreeable. But he who should in this matter be excessive and profuse would be blamed as vain and frivolous; and perhaps even worse would befall him, for he might be held evil and sycophantic. And this is the third kind of ceremonies, which does indeed proceed from our will, and not from usage. Let us then recollect that ceremonies (as I said from the first) were naturally not necessary,—on the contrary, people

¹ The English reader may fancy that this passage conflicts with that which immediately precedes: but such is not the case. In the earlier passage, the use of *You* was recommended as more civil than *Thou*: in the later passage, the use of *Vossignoria* (or other the like impersonal term, where appropriate) as more respectful than *You*.

got on perfectly well without them : as our own nation, not long ago, did almost wholly. But the illnesses of others have infected us also with this and many other infirmities. For which reasons, when we have submitted to usage, all the residue in this matter that is superfluous is a kind of licit lying : or rather, from that point onwards, not licit but forbidden—and therefore a displeasing and tedious thing to noble souls, which will not live on baubles and appearances. Vain and elaborate and superabundant ceremonies are flatteries but little covert, and indeed open and recognized by all. But there is another sort of ceremonious persons who make an art and trade of this, and keep book and document of it. To such a class of persons, a giggle ; and to such another, a smile. And the more noble shall sit upon the chair, and the less noble upon the settle. Which ceremonies I think were imported from Spain into Italy. But our country has given them a poor reception, and they have taken little root here ; for this so punctilious distinction of nobility is a vexation to us :¹ and therefore no one ought to set himself up as judge, to decide who is more noble, and who less so.—To speak generally, ceremoniousness annoys most men ; because by it people are prevented from living in their own way—that is, prevented from liberty, which every man desires before all things else.’

‘ Agreeable manners are those which afford delight, or at least do not produce any vexation, to the feelings, appetite, or imagination, of those with whom we have to do. A man should not be content with doing that which is right, but should also study to do it with grace. And grace [*leggiadria*] is as it were a light which shines from the fittingness of things that are well composed and well assorted the one with the other, and all of them together ; without which measure even the good is not beautiful, and beauty is not pleasurable. Therefore well-bred persons should have regard to this measure, both in walking, standing, and sitting, in gesture, demeanour, and clothing, in words and in silence, and in rest and in action.’

Besides the *Galateo*, Monsignor della Casa has left another and shorter *Tractate on Amicable Interchange between Superiors and Inferiors* (*Trattato degli Uffici Comuni tra gli Amici Superiori e Inferiori*). This deals not so much with the relation between those who are rich and those who are poor in the gifts of fortune, taken simply on that footing, as with the connection between

¹ This is, I think, still a national trait among Italians, and a most creditable one : the endless grades and sub-grades, shades and demi-shades, of good society, as maintained in England (with an instinct comparable to the marvellous power of a bat to wing its dark way amid any number of impediments, and to be impeded by none of them), are unintelligible to ordinary Italians - or, where intelligible, detestable. Long may they remain so !

master and servant, patron and client, magnate and dependent. The tone is grave and humane, with an adequate share of worldly wisdom interspersed. The opening is interesting and suggestive ; and shows that the great ‘Servant Controversy,’ of which the pages of English daily newspapers are now almost annually conscious in the dull season, was by no means unknown to Italy in the sixteenth century :—

‘I apprehend that the ancients were free from a great and continual trouble ; having their households composed, not of free men, as is our usage, but of slaves, of whose labour they availed themselves, both for the comforts of life, and to maintain their repute, and for the other demands of society. For, as the nature of man is noble, copious, and erect, and far more apt to commanding than obeying, a hard and odious task do those undertake who assume to exercise masterdom over it, while still bold and of undiminished strength, as is done now-a-days. To the ancients, in my judgment, it was no difficult or troublesome thing to command those who were already quelled and almost domesticated—people whom either chains, or long fatigues, or a soul servile from very childhood, had bereaved of pride and force. We on the contrary have to do with souls robust, spirited, and almost unbending ; which, through the vigour of their nature, refuse and hate to be in subjection, and, knowing themselves free, resist their masters, or at least seek and demand (often with reason, but sometimes also without) that in commanding them some measure be observed. Whence it arises that every house is full of complaints, wranglings, and questionings. And certainly this is the fact ; because we are unjust judges in our own cause,—and, as it is true that everybody unfairly prizes his own affairs higher than those of others, albeit of equal value, and consequently always persuades himself that he has given more than he has received, the thing cannot go on *pari passu*. Hence comes the wearisome complaint of the one, “I have worn myself out in your house ;” and the rebuke of the other, “I have maintained and fed you, and treated you well.”’

I can afford only one more extract from this treatise ; which indeed handles its general subject-matter more on the ground of fairness, good-feeling, and expedient compromise of conflicting claims, than as a question of courtesy—though neither is that left out of view.

‘In giving orders and assigning duties which have to be fulfilled, let regard be paid to the condition of the individuals ; so that, if anything uncleanly is to be done, that be allotted to the lowest, and it come not to pass (as some perverse-natured people will have

it) that noblemen¹ should sweep the house, and carry slops out of the chambers. Let not things of much labour be committed to the weak, nor the degrading to the well-mannered, nor the frivolous and sportful to the aged. Moreover let the masters be heedful not to impose upon any one anything of uncommon difficulty or labour or painstaking, unless of necessity or for some great cause ; for the laws of humanity command us not to make a call upon a man's diligence and solicitude beyond what is reasonable, or as if in levity—especially if it exceeds the ordinary bounds.'

With this I shut up Della Casa's volume, and take final leave of my reader—trusting that, after perusing, skimming, or skipping, so much matter concerning Courtesy, he will part from me on the terms of (at lowest) a 'courteous reader,' in more than the merely conventional sense.

¹ *Nobili*. I presume this is to be understood literally ; the household in which noblemen could be thus employed being of course one of exalted position.

EARLY
GERMAN COURTESY-BOOKS.

AN ACCOUNT OF

The Italian Guest by Thomasin von Zirclaria,

OF

‘HOW THE KNIGHT OF WINSBEKE TAUGHT HIS SON,
AND THE LADY OF WINSBEKE HER DAUGHTER,’

The German Cato,

AND

Tannhauser's Courtly Breeding,

BY

EUGENE OSWALD.

IN the German literature of the 13th century, Thomasin of Zerklære, or, in the Italian form of his name, Tommasino di Cirelaria, occupies a distinguished position. This position is due not only to the fact that his writing, addressed in purest German and in a loving spirit by an Italian poet to a German public, forms a refreshing link between two nations otherwise much and long divided (though this fact in itself is remarkable enough), but also for the intrinsic value of that one of his works which we still possess. This work, by the peculiar tone of his mind, introduces a striking element of variety into a rich but (without him and Walther von der Vogelweide) somewhat one-sided period of literature. He exercised by his own work and that of his successors, a healthy influence which, though not generally acknowledged, continued down towards the age of Reformation. Finally, his principal and well-preserved poem affords us a full revelation of an individuality clearly marked, thoroughly sound, wise, and enlightened, gentle in strength, whose words we can hardly read without loving him who uttered them.

Thomasin wrote two works, at least; for to the present writer there seem to be indications of his having written others beside the two which are mentioned by literary historians and critics.

The first of these was a Treatise on Courtesy. Unfortunately it is lost, but we have direct evidence of its production and contents by the mention the author makes of it in his larger work, in which he reproduces, in translation, one portion of his earlier writing, and summarizes others. We say in translation, for that lost work was not written in German. It is not so certain what the language was in which it was produced. The author himself says it was written

in *welhsche* (the modern German *wölsch*).¹ This exceedingly elastic word, for which we see no equivalent in English, and which designates equally people and things, of Romance speech or Celtic origin, from the mountains of the principality to the plains of the lower Danube, from the Ardennes to the Alps, and from the Pyrenees to the Apennines, may indeed be translated by *Italian*, and this, apparently, recommends itself by the fact of the author being introduced to us, by Mr Rossetti,² and others, as an Italian. Thus Professor Max Müller has also translated the name of Thomasin's greater work, *der welhsche Gast*, by '*the Italian Guest*,' a translation we do not wish to disturb.³ But on the other hand, the Editor of Thomasin, Heinrich Rückert, translates in this connection, the word *welhsche* without hesitation by North-French. Striking as this difference may appear at first sight, and Professor Rückert states no reasons for his rendering, there seems to us, on second consideration, good ground for it. For the *langue d'oïl* had towards the second half of the 12th century become a fashionable tongue, and by it had been chiefly promulgated those romances of King Arthur and the Round Table which then filled the imagination of the poets of Christendom, and with which Thomasin was well acquainted; King Richard Cœur de Lion was familiar with it and had perhaps written in it, as well as in the *langue d'oc*, and Thomasin, at one time, was at the court of Richard's cousin and companion in arms, Otto of Brunswick; moreover he tells us that he knew *welhsch*, which, if the word here meant Italian, was hardly necessary or likely to be mentioned, it being a matter of course (unless indeed he should have meant to imply, which seems to us possible, but not probable, that, beside his local dialect, he knew another and purer one: with respect to which supposition we must not forget that the Tuscan

¹ alsô ich hân hie vor geseit
an mîm buoch von der hüfseheit
daz ich welhschen hân gemacht.—V. 1173-75.

and:

er mac hoeren manic lère
die ich wider die valscheit
in welhscher zunge hân geseit.—V. 1552-54.

² V. above, pt. 2, pp. 5, 30.

³ In the catalogue of the Vatican library, which for a long time possessed the best MS., the book was entered as *Hospes Italicus, seu Tractatus de Virtutibus et Vitiis*. *Adelung*, Nachrichten, p. 22.

dialect had not then arrived at that dignity and lustre which was afterwards conferred on it). Again, Thomasin himself in one instance at least, V. 94, uses the word *welhsche* with reference to North-French writings. Finally, if not the *langue d'oyl*, at any rate the *langue d'oc*¹ had been frequently employed by Italian writers; and it was only in Thomasin's days, and chiefly at the Court of Frederic II. at Naples, that the Italian tongue was employed for literary composition, mostly, we are told (for the present writer has no direct knowledge of this part of the question) in love-poetry imitating the manner of the Provençal troubadours,² and rarely in sacred poetry. If then Thomasin's lost work were written in Italian, it would be one of the earliest works in that language, and it is perhaps not probable that a subject like the one under consideration would be produced in first attempts to use the vernacular for literary purposes, whilst in the *langue d'oyl*, which already had a literature of comparatively long standing, such a work would easily fall in with the current of literary production. Thus the probability seems to us that the work was written not in Italian, but in the *langue d'oyl*.³

¹ We may just mention that *Eschenburg*, *Denkmäler altd deutscher Dichtung*, while rejecting Italian as the language meant by *welhsch*, inclines to the belief that the *langue d'oc* was meant. Yet he does so, not by eliminating the probabilities for the *langue d'oyl*, but by never entertaining or stating the possibility, or let us say by ignoring, for the moment, the existence of that language. More recent writers have not followed him.

V. 94 seems to us nearly conclusive in favour of the *langue d'oyl*, in this case, as against the *langue d'oc*. The author speaks there of adaptations, gladly received in Germany, of books taken from the *welhsche*: this seems plainly to refer to the imitations from Chrétien de Troyes, and other romantic poets. *Welisch* often stands where French is evidently meant. So Püterich, stanza 102.

Sam hat auch Lancilot von Süßenhoven
Aus Welisch Vlrich gedichtet.

² Comp. on the beginnings of an Italian literature, Ruth, *Geschichte der italienischen Poesie*. Leipzig, 1844; Th. i. p. 176—247. And Hallam, *Middle Ages*, chap. ix. part ii. Yet the early date of Thomasin need not militate against his having written in Italian. Frederic II., his sons Enzo and Manfred, his chancellor Pier delle Vigne, wrote in the first third of the century. Ciuilo of Alcamo, the oldest Sicilian singer, seems to have belonged to that time (before 1193; as he speaks of Saladin as living), Folcachiero, the oldest Florentine poet to have flourished about 1200, Mico di Siena a few years afterwards, Guido Guinizzelli of Bologna, about 1220. Still these writers belong to great centres very different from Friuli, and their productions seem very far from being on so large a plan as Thomasin's.

³ After writing this we applied to Professor Rückert at Breslau, the editor

The second work of Thomasin is the *wälsche Gast*, already mentioned. It is a long didactic poem, or at any rate a metrical performance of nearly fifteen thousand lines, quite finished by the author, which is note-worthy in a period abounding in unfinished productions, in works of vast plan, for which the authors had not breath enough ; it possesses a certain unity which equally distinguishes it from many of the productions of his contemporaries, who began somewhere, not knowing whither they were going, and rambled on till they came to an end, though not to a conclusion ; and it is in an almost complete state of preservation, having been handed down to us in many MSS., though edited for the first time but recently. It is a treatise, of a strongly exhortatory character, on the intellectual and moral life of man ; the physical part of his nature being neglected, which in a similar work in our days would have justly demanded a great space both as to the preservation and development of our faculties. Of this book it has become our task "to give an account, and to translate the courtesy part of it." But first as to the individuality of the author, of his life and character, for which, however, in the absence of any biography, we are almost reduced to the scanty hints the poem gives and to such combinations as they allow us.

Thomasin van Zerelaere,¹ was born about the year 1185, in the Friuli. The place he himself gives us ;² the date we obtain in this manner. Speaking of that taking of Jerusalem by the Saracens which occasioned the third crusade, that of Richard Cœur de Lion, he says it is about thirty years since we lost it :

of Thomasin, in order to arrive, if possible, at more complete clearness on this point. His courteous answer, in letter d.d. Gnadenfri, Silesia, Sept. 10, confirms his view, strengthening it chiefly by the consent of others, and by the then ordinary use of the word *walthisch*, which is to be taken as meaning simply one of Romance language, and is only specified, if necessary, by the addition of the particular home of the individual, viz. *walthisch* from Lombardy, &c. But this would not seem to prove that the '*welthisch*' could not have been used here to mean the then existing Italian ; Müller and Zarneke give one instance, at least, in their dictionary, where the word, without specializing additions, means plainly Italian, vol. iii. p. 467 ; and all things well considered, we prefer to leave the passage as it stands, inclined as we are to accept Professor Rückert's view, but expressing it in that more guarded manner which seems fitting where no direct and irrefragable evidence is forthcoming.

¹ Ich heiz Thomasin von Zerelaere, v. 75.

² Ich bin von Friüle geborn, v. 71.

ez sint wol zweir min drizec¹ jâr dez wirs verlurn.²

that is, it is 30 years less $2 = 28$ years; and in another passage he mentions that, at the time of writing his poem, he was about 30 years of age,³ and the whole poem was rapidly written, the first eight cantos in as many months. Thus, 1187 being known for the taking of Jerusalem, we obtain 1215 as the date of the poem, and reckoning back again, 1185 as the year of the author's birth.

As to the name, it seems to point to a family of noble birth, though not of very exalted standing. And here we get the only glimmer from outside the book itself. The author himself, though communicative enough, is silent on his family relations, and perhaps, it seems to us, not unintentionally. Who were his father and mother does not appear. But the family name has been found four times⁴ in documents, nearly contemporary with the poem, and a Bernardus de Circlaria, who appears as a witness to a contract, in the years 1186 and 1188, was perhaps the father, or an uncle, of our author. The nature of the documents⁵ seems to show that he, as well as the two other witnesses mentioned, owed feudal service to the Patriarch of Aquileja, and were perhaps his employés in the secular affairs of the see.⁶ But, scarcely have we had time to rejoice at so much, or even so little, tangible information, when we are met by the difficulty of explaining the family-name. "Of Zerclaere" is plainly a patronymic

¹ Duo de triginta.

² V. 11717-18; $30 - 2 = 28$.

³ Ich bin niht alt drizec jâr, v. 2445.

In aht mûnôden hân ich gar

diu aht teil ûz gemachet, v. 12278-79.

⁴ By Karajan, J. de Haupt's Zeitschrift für deutsches Alterthum, vol. v. p. 241-42, referring to Joh. Franc. Bernardi Mariae de Rubeis, Monumenta ecclesiae Aquilensis. Argentinae (Venice) 170 et seq., s. 632 C., 633 C., 634 D. And again to Ughelli, Italia sacra, 5, 77.

The present Editor has not been able to verify these quotations, the particular work of Ughelli not being in the British Museum, whilst of that of Rubeis, only a few and, to us, irrelevant chapters are accessible, contained in S. Chromati Script. Utini. 1816.

⁵ They are called de Glemona and Perchtenstein, and distinctly designated, Rubeis, s. 598 A., as employés of the Patriarch. The German name of the second gives some slight support to our theory, as showing the employment of Germans or men of German origin in these border-lands.

⁶ Whilst this passes through the press, we receive a genealogical statement concerning Bernard, the knight of Circlaria. He appears to have had two daughters only. MSS. Nicoletti. Vita del Patr. Aquil. Bertoldo. Vide note, page 89.

of local origin ; but there is no place called Circlaria to be found in that Friuli where Thomasin was born, and where Bernard lived.¹ The suggestion has been made,² and immediately rejected, to connect the name with Zirklach, a place in Carniola (Krain). Now we are inclined to take up again this supposition, and believe it to be pregnant with the explanation of much in the poem which requires explanation and has not received it. Our theory is that Circlaria or Zerclaere, which latter is Thomasin's version, the former that of the latinizing notary, is a corruption of the German Zirklach,³ and that the author, though born in Friuli, was descended, in the first or second degree, from a German family from Krain or Carniola, who had immigrated into the Friul.

He says indeed that he is a thorough Italian, or at least Welhisch,⁴ and apologizes for his shortcomings in German. But the former may be quite an ordinary and legitimate expression for one born of an Italian mother in Italy, though her husband were a German, or for the grandson of Italianized Germans ; and the shortcomings are indeed so small that the author's great familiarity and sympathy with German much more require an explanation than his rare insufficiencies, while his speech has at the same time not unfrequently a provincial character which points quite unmistakably to the Duchy of Austria and to Carinthia or Styria. Yet his knowledge evidently flows healthily and about equally from two sources—literary study and conversational opportunity. And the latter must have been more than that which frequency of talk with strangers or acquaintances affords : such intimate knowledge as his is not acquired unless the heart undertake a part of the teaching. At first we were inclined

¹ Thus the German writers, especially Karajan at Vienna ; the maps confirm them. But our Italian friends furnish us with the information, that in the 14th century, an estate called Cerclaria existed near Cividale.—'Prope Civitatem Austriæ erant bona in loco appellato Cerclaria, ut in documento anni 1335, 6 Nov., ut in actis Stephani Condelarii, notarii de Civitate.'

² Haupt, ut supra, p. 242.

³ The name appears in the MSS. in the following variations : Zerelaere,—Zerclar,—Zirklere,—Tirklere,—Tirkler Claer,—Verrere (Ferrara), the last of these in a quite recent copy, which was only made in the 18th century, and to which no authority attaches. Haupt, ut supra, p. 242.—To this add : Thomasin von Clär, in Püterich von Reicherzhausen, 15th century, quoted further on.

⁴ 69. Wan ich vil gar ein walich bin.

to suppose him to have been married to a German lady, and to have written this poem in the retirement of an early widowerhood.¹ To such a bereavement the gravity and mellowness of his thoughts and feelings may point, together with the fact that the retirement in which he wrote it² was not an habitual mood of life with him, that on its conclusion he reckoned upon returning to the gaieties of the world which he had formerly shared,³ that it occupied about a year,⁴ a period on which he strongly insists as the right period of mourning after the loss of husband or wife,⁵ and which he might well wish to fill up with this consoling and absorbing business of his ten lay-sermons, for so they may be called. Nor need this hypothesis be necessarily abandoned in favour of that of his distant German descent: the grandson of a German family, born in Italy, he may have returned to the home of his fathers, there to wed a German wife.

In all this inquiry it is right to bear in mind that we have not to do with countries far distant from each other, that Krain and Friuli are border-lands, where Italian, German, and Slaave elements are greatly mingled, partly in juxtaposition, and that part of Friuli only is Italian, while another part, still Austrian, has belonged to the Empire not only, but to Germany, from Otho I., at least, to the disruption of Germany by the war of 1866.

Those shortcomings in language just alluded to, and which in a general way he declares himself conscious of, are, we may say this in

¹ Leaving him, perhaps, with a son; v. 12660-63. But the passage is not conclusive.—That, at the time of writing the ‘Italian Guest,’ he was not married, is certain from v. 4097: “*ob ich ein wip haben solde.*”

² Dô du mit rîtern und mit vrouwen
Phlaege buhurt und tanz schouwen,
Dô was ich harte gern bi dir:
Wan dô, geloubestu ouch mir,
Do du woldest ze hove sîn
Unter den liuten, dô was mîn
Geloube daz ich wære baz
Bi dir dan inder, wîzze daz.—V. 12241-48.

³ Mich luste harte wol ze schouwen
Beidiu rîter unde vrouwen,
Doch dunket mich daz baz getân
Daz ich mich ir ein wîle ân.—V. 12319-22.

⁴ V. 12278-82.

⁵ V. 5605-26.

passing, to us moderns by no means considerable.¹ Many of them an unguided modern ear would not even detect. They are so inconsiderable, that one of the first modern writers who occupied himself with Thomasin inclined to the belief that the writer was purely a German who, for reasons of his own, assumed the characters of a foreigner, as a *nom de plume* may be assumed.² They consist, for the greater part, in deficiencies of ear as to rhyming, and in occasionally doubtful accents as to rhythm. Thomasin's contemporaries had arrived at a surprising, perhaps at a pedantic, exactness as to their rhymes, which is far from having descended to Schiller and Goethe, who can hardly lay claim to greater purity than Thomasin. Besides this, by us very pardonable, want of delicacy in hearing, a few instances occur where our author uses a word drawn from the Italian, which, however, may very well have already belonged to that South-German dialect that surrounded him, and need not have been introduced by him, who starts with the intention not to "streak with foreign words his German speech,"³ an intention he very laudably carries out, and wherein the immense majority of later German writers have not followed him.

In one or two instances a technical or political term occurs to him more readily in Italian than in German;⁴ and in one instance he naïvely confesses that he does not know the German for a shrub of which he has got something to say.⁵

These two latter details seem to us to support the theory that his education and early impressions belong to Italy, and that when he wrote his great work, he was in Germany—a fact otherwise patent, and far from those who might have furnished him with the necessary translation.

He evidently had the best education which his age could afford. He was not an ecclesiastic when he wrote the Italian Guest, though,

¹ V. 55-70. Wise people, he thinks, will not mind them; and again: v. 1684-86.

² Eschenburg, Denkmäler, p. 114-44.

³ V. 35-42.

⁴ V. 845.—*Potestât* = mayoralty = podestaria. Vide also *tempern*, for *to cut*, as applied to the penknife, the Italian *temperino*; v. 12232.

⁵ Ez ist ein krût des enkan ich niht genennen tiusche, v. 14086, *et seq.* He means the Oleander (*Nerium Oleander*, L.).

from what we know of his reading, it is not impossible that he entered on the career of one, and, for reasons unknown to us, left it. Ecclesiastical influences had surrounded him at some time in his life, as was natural enough if that Bernardus de Circlaria whom we have mentioned as connected with the Patriarch of Aquileja, was really his father or uncle. His later education may have lain more in the direction of the Law Schools.¹ He had for his time a respectable knowledge of physics and astronomy. Whether his university was Bologna or Padua will remain undecided, but it was probably one of the two.² In riper years he was conscious, as many an other man³ has been since, that he might have worked harder when at college. But his reading was extensive and varied. The philosophers Seneca and Boethius are the ancient authors who have left the strongest traces on his mind. With Horace, too, he was familiar, but to him Thomasin's graver mind reverts less frequently. Among the fathers, Tertullian and St Augustine were read by him; among the Latin authors of the Middle Ages, Gregory the Great—the only one whom he cites directly,—John of Salisbury, Petrus Alphonsus,⁴ Isidor of Sevilla,⁵ and especially Hildebert of Tours (1057—1134) made the greatest impression on him. His reading was not empty book-learning, it entered the flesh and blood of his mind, and when he quotes, it is not by taking a volume from the shelf of a library, as we must, but from the stores of his memory, which served him as a commonplace book,—a memory which must have been excellent, and played him no evil trick, though his quotations are not textual. It is worth while to say that they have been verified, with very great pains, by his German editor, H. Rückert.

With the romantic literature of his time he was well acquainted, and in a passage, hereafter to be referred to again, he seems to allude to the titles of several romances which to us are lost. He not un-

¹ V. 2285-420.

² Rückert, Vorwort, p. xi.

³ Says the pen to the author :

Dô du dâ ze schuole wære

Dô muotestu mich niht sô hart. v. 12256-57.

⁴ Petrus Alphonsus, a Jew, baptized in 1106, 44 years of age, wrote Dialogi XII. contra Judæos, *Disciplina clericorum*.

⁵ Isidor of Sevilla (*Sententiarum libri tres*), p. 636.

frequently uses the names of the chief characters of them in illustrations; he would be certain in this to tread on ground familiar to his readers—for such he expects to find, not hearers only, like some of his contemporaries who looked to the recital or singing of their pieces rather than to their being companions of solitude. But while in his youth, when he wrote the *Courtesy* book to please a lady,¹ he probably enjoyed those adventurous tales with a naïve pleasure; at the time when his graver mind produced the *Italian Guest*, they appeared to him insufficient and somewhat empty, plays of the fancy chiefly, not always without a deeper hidden meaning, yet on the whole like in a book the pictures which might amuse the younger or more untutored mind, while the reading of the text was reserved for the riper and chastened intellect. And thus he finds himself in opposition, nowhere sharply expressed, yet not the less decided, to those knightly romances; and though the form of his book be in no way similar to *Don Quixote*, yet its tendency and its action on contemporary literature is somewhat like that of Cervantes. True, the production of poems of knightly adventure went on, and several of the principal of those books, proceeding from and destined for a limited circle in the nation, were written after Thomasin uttered his appeal from Romance to Real life, from the Ideal of a Class to the Ideal of Man; but still he is at the head of that movement of reaction in which he was immediately followed by the author of *Prüdnec*,² and which finally overcame the knightly romance, and continued till towards the Reformation the way for which it distantly prepared. And thus, whatever may justly be urged against directly didactic poetry, the value of Thomasin's services in the cause of a clearer perception of Human Life must be estimated very highly.

As to the lyrical poets of the age, he is once polemical against Walther von der Vogelweide, who, though favourable to a new crusade, objected to the collections for the papal treasury made on that occasion, whilst Thomasin admitted of no critical restrictions in his zeal for the struggle to regain the Holy Land,—a struggle which, to

¹ Ich tet ez einer vrouwen ze êre,
Diu bat mich der selben lère.—V. 1555-56.

² Vide Max Müller, *German Classics*, p. xvii. and 119-24.

his mind, presented itself as indissolubly connected with the papal authority, and with respect to which a mere maker of love-songs was at least to be suspected of lukewarmness, and of being little qualified to give counsel. "For the poet," he says,—

"For the poet again it is not seemly	11212
To be a liar,	
Since both he and the preacher	
Are to support Truth.	11215
A certain man might (now)	
With one word do more good to Christendom	
Than he can do it ever after.	
Methinks that all his singing	
Both in short measure and in long,	11220
Cannot have pleased God so much	
As that one thing must displease him,	
Since he hath befooled thousands	
So that they have paid no heed	
To God's and the Pope's command."	11225

Walther is not mentioned ; but the passage evidently relates to him whose partial opposition might easily lead men further away than he intended from the undertaking which he himself seems to have had at heart perhaps as much as Thomasin. Somewhat later he even set out personally on a Crusade, though he did not reach the Holy Land. But he clung to the Imperial authority as opposed to the Papal. And Thomasin was a Guelph. The two poets probably met personally, when Walther visited the court of the Patriarch of Aquileja.¹ But then, as now, it was difficult for men of opposite camps, especially if difference of temper and tastes were added, to understand each other, and find out what common ground might be possessed by both.

This, however, is the only passage in which some bitterness mixes

¹ "Nel secolo stesso (XIII) frequentò la corte del Patriarca d'Aquileja Volftero di Leubrechtkirchen (1204-1218) il minnesinger tedesco Walter von der Vogelweide." From notes, the result of researches, made by Doctor Vincenzo Joppi and Signor Antonio Joppi, in the archives of Udine, Vicenza, Aquileja, and Venice, for the special purpose of this essay, and communicated to the present writer by the courtesy of Professor Quinto Maddalozzo at Vicenza, with whom he was brought in connection by his kind friend Dr Francesco Genala at Soresina. To all these gentlemen best thanks are due, and tendered.

in Thomasin's criticisms; and it resulted from his idea of the high office belonging to the Poet, an office which he, however, devoted to Mother Church, was not willing to rank beneath that of the Preacher. Indeed this one idea pervades his book: Mind is King. Frequent are his utterances in this sense. Thus he says that Solomon is known to us more by his writings than by his having been a great ruler.¹ And he complains that learning in his days was not more general, and that, when found, it was not more honoured.

LEARNING AND WISDOM NO LONGER HONoured.

Wâ ist nu Aristôteles,
Zênô und Parmenides,
Platô und Pytâgoras?
wâ ist ouch Anaxâgoras?
nu wizzet daz mich dunket des,
und lebt hiut Aristôteles,
im entet dehein ander
künic daz im Alexander
ze êren tet di wil er lebt.

Where are now Aristotle,
Zeno and Parmenides,
Plato and Pythagoras?
Again where is Anaxagoras?
Now know ye that it seems to me
That if Aristotle lived now-a-days
No other
King would do by him what Alexander
Did in his honour while he lived.²

Yet, with all his respect for learning, it is not the mere accumulation of facts, the diffusion of useful knowledge which he aims at; and the real wisdom of life stands in his eyes higher than erudition:

WISDOM PREFERABLE TO LEARNING.

Der kan Grammaticâ wol
der rehte lebet als er sol.
ob er niht rehte sprechen kan,
so ist er doch ein wise man.

He knows grammar well
Who lives justly, as he ought.
Though he cannot speak correctly
Yet he is a wise man.³

With respect to that said accumulation of knowledge, he gives a rule of study, and utters a warning which has its value even in these days of competitive and other examinations when some one has said as a thing to be rejoiced at, and many have repeated it, "He who runs may read:"

¹ Salomôn der ist mêre, v. 9217.
Erkant der werlde durch sîn lère
Danne durch sîn künieriche,
Daz geloubet sicherliche.

² V. 5085-93.

³ V. 8999-9002.

READ NOT HASTILY NOR TOO MUCH.

Der pfaffe der vil buoeche hât
sî stæte an ein von minem rât,
wan wil ers eins tags übersehen
gar, so mac daz niht geschehen
daz er vernem ir aller sin.

man siht niht wol durch eine tür,
ob man ze snell wil loufen vür.

And again :

Ein buoch sol lange wern.

The priest who has many books
Let him be steady at one, by my advice,
If he will survey them all in a day
It is impossible
For him to understand their meaning.

One cannot well see through a door,
If one wishes to run on too quickly.¹

A book shall last a long time.²

Thomasin's knowledge of contemporary history is very great, and he seems to have watched carefully the political transactions of his time ; witness his allusions to the history of King John of England,³ to the revolutions of the Greek empire,⁴ and so on.

No Italian patriotism is to be found in Thomasin. The time for such national and oppositional feeling had not yet come. When he speaks of Unity,⁵ in connection with Rome, it seems to us that his meaning must be twisted to be made to refer to the modern idea of Italian unity which had not then dawned : it is rather the Unity of Christendom which occupied him ; and in bewailing its divisions, it is natural for him to regret the loss of the great power of ancient Rome, the capital of the old Empire, and, to him, in uninterrupted line, of the Christian world. Rome once commanded the universe, he says ; now her voice is mocked even at Viterbo.⁶ The name of Italy does not occur. With Italian affairs, especially those of Lombardy and Tuscany, he shows himself especially acquainted, and in his survey of

¹ V. 1905-9.

² V. 14626. Eschenburg ; '*Denkmäler altd deutscher Dichtkunst*' reads this line : 'MEIN buoch sol lange wern,' which would recall Horace's '*Eregi monumentum ære perennius*,' and is not incompatible with the considerable consciousness of his own value which Thomasin elsewhere shows.

³ V. 3423-26.

⁴ V. 10607 et seqq. : and again, v. 11003-22. Vide also his Survey of Europe, v. 2421-96.

⁵ V. 2423-39.

⁶ Man vürht si ze Biterbe niht, v. 2438. Of a period but slightly anterior, that of Thomas à Beckett, Machiavelli says : mentre che il Papa aveva tanta autorità nei principi longinqui, non poteva farsi ubbidire dai Romani ; dai quali non potette impetrare di potere stare in Roma, ancorachè promettesse d'altro che dell ecclasiastico non si travagliare : tanto le cose che paiono sono più discosto che d'appresso temute. Istorie Fiorentine, lib. i.

the state of the Christian world¹ the different parts of Italy occupy more space than, geographically, would be their due. Yet, the names of Italian cities are Germanized,² and in complaining of the real or apparent decay of the Lombard towns, which he witnessed as a recent event and ascribed to their own faults,³ he nowhere thinks of recommending, as a remedy, what would now be called a national policy, and what must have appeared to him as a revolt against the universality of the Christian empire, as represented by Pope and Cæsar.

In his twenty-third year we find our author at the court of the Emperor Otho IV., that is, among the Guelphs. We obtain his age at that period by comparing our former calculation with the ascertained date of Otho's presence in Lombardy, 1209, and his subsequent coronation in Rome, Sept. 27. Perhaps business connected with the see of Aquileja may have led Thomasin to go to court, but his sympathies were then with the Emperor's cause, which, for the moment, was the Pope's. Not without misgiving he saw the overconfidence of that ruler, whose decline though not his death he was to witness before the *weltliche Gast* was finished. But whilst he felt compelled to pass over to the other side, he is far from insulting his ancient chief.

Previous to giving a passage very characteristic both of our author's heart and of his way of rising, in the expounding of matters of courtesy, to considerations of weightier import, it may not be unwelcome to briefly summarize the principal events of that period as far as Italy and Germany, Pope and Emperor, are concerned.

Henry VI.—the VI. as king of Germany, though the V. only as Emperor, the first German Henry, Otho I.'s father, never having borne the Imperial Crown⁴—had died after having united the two Sicilies to the other possessions of the Hohenstaufen family, leaving an only son, Frederic II., in tender years (1197). This grand-child of Frederic Barbarossa was under the guardianship of Pope Innocent III. His mother, Constantia, by sacrificing to the Pope important rights of the

¹ V. 2421-96.

² Biterbo, Berne, Presse = Viterbo, Verona, Brescia.

³ V. 2439-54.

⁴ German writers are apt to confound the two dignities: Machiavelli's (who is more exact) Henry I. is their Henry II., and so on.

crown, had procured his coronation as king of the Sicilies. But no similar influence could restrain the princes of Germany from falling away from their promised allegiance to a child three years of age. His uncle, duke Philip of Suabia, seized upon the crown on one hand, whilst the Guelph party elected an anti-king in Otho of Brunswick, the son of Henry the Lion, and of Mathilda, Henry II.'s of England daughter. Otho had distinguished himself among the fighting men of his uncle Richard Cœur de Lion, and now waged, with changing fortunes, a ten years' war of North against South, of Guelph against Ghibellin. After Philip of Suabia had been murdered, a victim to the private revenge of Otho of Wittelsbach, the ancestor of the Bavarian kings, the kingly and imperial dignities accrued for a space of four years (1208—1212) wholly to Otho of Brunswick. He was crowned by Pope Innocent in 1209, who, however, in the midst of Otho's victorious march through Italy, pronounced excommunication against him for having resumed the sovereignty of Ancona and Spoleto, and thus curtailed the papal states, and opposed to him his apparently half-forgotten ward, Frederic II., "our child" as Thomasin affectionately calls him.¹ Abandoned by many of his friends, surrounded by enemies, and in luckless alliance with King John Lackland, he was beaten at Bouvines in 1214 by Philip Augustus of France, but continued fighting for his position, and died in 1218. At the date of our poem he was evidently hard beset. It is of this man our author speaks with reference to Moderation in Blazonry.

When Sir Otho was in Lombardy,
 With whom things have now gone hard,
 And had also come to Rome,
 As you probably have heard,
 I came there at that time, 10475
 And was in his court, that is true,

¹ Nu nemet ouch bilde dâ bî, 10569
 wie unser kint gestigen sî.
 dô man gewis sîn wolde
 daz er Püllen vliessen solde,
 dô gab im got tiuschiu lant, &c.

... diventò Ottone nemico del Pontifice, occupò la Romagna, e ordinava di assalire il regno; per la qual cosa il Papa lo scomunicò, in modo ch'è fu de ciascheduno abbandonato, e gli Elettori elessero per imperadore Federigo re di Napoli.—*Machiavelli*, Istorie Fiorentine, lib. i.

About eight weeks and more :
 Then this displeased me exceedingly
 That there appeared in his shield
 No less than three lions and half an eagle. 10480
 That was doing it immoderately
 In two directions, surely.
 Three lions were too much.
 He who wishes to bear (in his shield) one lion,
 If he can direct his course of action by such a model, 10485
 Him I think an upright man.
 Likewise you shall know
 That half an Eagle is not sound :
 I will in this to you not lie :
 Half an Eagle cannot fly. 10490
 That was in Little and in Much
 Immoderation, if you will understand it.
 I have an inkling that it was to signify
 What was to come afterwards.
 One lion shows highmindedness,
 Three lions shows arrogance. 10496
 He who has the heart of three lions,
 Follows the counsel of arrogance ;
 If one has the spirit of one lion
 Methinks that he does enough. 10500
 The eagle flies very high,
 His high flight betokens honour,
 And so truly betokens
 Half an eagle the parting of honour.
 Now every one will see 10505
 That Sir Otho has
 Parted with the Empire by arrogance.
 He who wishes to ascend
 With the hearts of three lions beyond the spirit of man,
 He must shortly descend in the course of victory : 10510
 However high half an eagle might be,
 He could not but fall, that is true.
 I do not say this in order
 To reproach him in any way
 With being arrogant. 10515
 Were I to do so, it would not seem to me good.
 For however he has fared
 I will yet guard myself
 Not to speak evil of him,
 Since I should weaken myself 10520
 By doing so ; it shall not happen
 If I can help it.
 But what I have said,

I have said,	
That people may get sense,	10525
Otherwise I should not have said it,	
Yet I may well say it	
That every one may mark it,	
And take an example thereby	
That things have happened thus with him.	10530

Innocent III. had died in 1216, two years before the luckless Emperor. His death is not mentioned by Thomasin, and had it occurred at the time of the writing of *der welhische Gast*, it would in all probability not have been passed over by the poet, who is sufficiently in the habit of moralizing on contemporary events, and who moreover was evidently a strong adherent of Innocent, and much under the influence of that pope, Thomasin's fervent exhortation to a new Crusade being, as H. Rückert has well shown, chiefly a paraphrase of the Bull of Innocent. This observation, if we desire further confirmation of the date we have assigned to the poem, singularly narrows the calculation. The poem cannot have been written before 1215, and not after 1216, and we know that the first eight cantos were written in as many months.

Whether when Frederic II. in his time came into collision with the Pope, Thomasin was capable of retaining his affectionate allegiance for "our child," may fairly be doubted. His old Guelf reminiscences, his unflinching adherence to the spiritual power and to orthodoxy, his very veneration for mind as distinguished from outward authority, his associations with clerical learning, the small store he set on princes and the nobility, unless they were officering to the welfare of the community of their fellow-men; all this must have drawn him towards, if not into, the ranks of those who hunted to death that brilliant ruler. But we are allowed, from Thomasin's bearing towards the falling Otho, to conclude that if his allegiance would be withdrawn from Frederic, somewhat of his affection would remain, and his withdrawal would be marked, not by the fiery spirit of the zealous renegade, but by the sad thoughts of one who in grievous disappointment cuts himself off from old ties, respecting the fallen because he respects himself, of whom the lost one was a part. But this is speculation: with the death of Innocent, the image of Thomasin, while yet a young man,

recedes from our view. Whatever fights he fought, whatever books he wrote, have vanished into the gray abyss. Whatever his contemporaries may have learnt from him, whether or not they felt the debt which the world owes, for the example he sets, to a man of great mind and stout heart, they do not speak of him. One single exception to this exists: his death is mentioned, again, in the shadowy manner which surrounds him, and which we have tried somewhat to clear up: no date is affixed, in the registers of the cathedral of Aquileja, to the bare record of his demise. Yet we learn by it that he did enter, or re-enter, the priesthood, and attained the dignity of a Canon.¹ We have the 'Italian Guest;' the rest is silence. And it remains to us but very briefly to sum up the man's character, and that of his book.

A man who has seen life and tasted its sweets, who has acquired the best knowledge his time could give him, and has found something higher; thinking knowledge of small account when not improving wisdom; going in all things to the root of the matter; sufficiently penetrated with the then current modes of viewing human life to enable him to understand his time, yet himself penetrating through the elegant skins and savoury flesh of the fruit to the very kernel; ascending from courtesy to goodness, from nobility of rank to nobleness of heart; seeing in all station and dignity but an office and an obligation, exchanging for a real respect for women, as one half of God's creation of noble human beings, that unhealthy tone of gallantry² which his age had carried to its utmost excess, and which has so constantly become the flimsy cover of real wrong; loudly proclaiming, in accents that remind us of Robert Burns, and of Schiller, the indestructible privileges of man in even the humblest condition; modest, yet self-conscious; convinced that he has to say things worth hearing, yet unwilling to speak to the utterly corrupt, while indefatigable in

¹ (Sine anno) . . . Obitus Tomasini de Cerclara Canonici Aquilejensis. Ex necrologio ecclesiæ Aquilejensis. Found by Signori Joppi, and communicated by Professor Maddalozzo at Vicenza to the present writer, who is happy to call to this newly-discovered fact the attention of the German historians of literature.

² "Lyrical poetry . . . degenerated into an unworthy idolatry of ladies." *Max Müller*. The German Classics, xvii.

drawing forth the germs of good in those who are fit and inclined to hear his teaching ; wholly indifferent to the mockeries of the mob, though ready to value the good opinion of the honourable and the distinguished ;¹ most delicate in his appreciation of things and persons, drawing a teaching from apparently empty forms, finding “ sermons in stones and good in everything ; ” always firm of purpose, surprising us sometimes by the refinement of feeling which accompanies the justness of his thought ; almost always grave, rarely stern, grave with the gravity of one mellowed by misfortune and meditation, full of sympathy in contact, of illustration in speech ; incessantly warring, above all, against all unsteadiness and all frivolity, sometimes with a touch of fun and real humour ; ever generous to the fallen ; gentle and mild to all men, barring heretics—thus appears to us Thomasin, as unconsciously painted by himself.

A few extracts will justify the apparent extravagance of our praise, the reader being pleased to remember what was that age of almost universal oppression—so, at least, it appears to us—wherein our author wrote.

And first as to heretics. Their existence in Lombardy and elsewhere² having been observed by him, and treated as an unmitigated evil, seeing that, in his eyes, the heretic is a man

To whom anything seems good 11269
That he happens to like doing,

he is betrayed into this grim joke :

ON HERETICS.

Lombardy would be exceedingly well off
Had she . . . the Lord of Austria 12686

¹ Böeser liute spot ist mir unmære.
Hân ich Gâweins hulde wol,
Von reht mîn Key spotten sol. v. 76-78.

Most of our readers are familiar with the personages of the King Arthur cycle of legends. To others, we could perhaps not bring home in a more compendious form the force of the allusions to Gâwein (= Owain) and Key (= Kai) than by this passage from the Lady of the Fountain: "In very truth, said Gwenhyvar, it were better thou wert hanged, Kai, than to use such uncourteous speech towards a man like Owain." Lady Guest's Mabinogian, Lady of the Fountain, Welsh text, vol. i. p. 1—38, Engl. transl. 39—84.

² In Provence, where they have expelled Steadiness, v. 2471-72; in Milan, v. 2489.

Who knows how to seethe the heretics.
 He would find there a fine opportunity for doing justice ;
 He does not wish the devil
 Should break his teeth at once
 When he eats them, therefore he has them
 Well boiled and roasted.

12692

This Lord of Austria, let it be said in passing, is Leopold VI.¹ (1198—1230), surnamed *pater clericorum*, the successor of that Leopold with whom Richard Cœur de Lion had a mutually unpleasant acquaintance, and otherwise, it appears, a man not without good parts ; at any rate, a patron of the arts. Other testimony, contemporary and later, may be adduced, that the heretic-hunt did not do all the good that was expected. The almost complete eradication of Protestantism from Austria was reserved for later princes and another dynasty.

Whilst, however, inclined to excuse, to a great extent, by the prevalent views of the age, the savageness of feeling expressed by a man otherwise so gentle, we must yet observe that outside the ranks of the heretics themselves, there must then have been some people pleading, in the spirit of our own age, for that toleration which most of the heretics themselves, if we are to judge them by their mental descendant, Calvin, would be so little inclined to give. For Thomasin himself introduces such a one in conversation, in order to conquer what would appear to him but specious arguments. After having expatiated on the insufficiency of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and claimed the arm of the secular power, he continues :

Here says perhaps a man, 12653
 Who cannot rightly understand the matter :
 One ought not to force any one 12655
 Into right and sound belief.
 "We even leave the Jews unhurt,
 Though they do not wish to be Christians."
 I will give him answer :
 If my child would not live 12660
 According to my wish, as his duty is to do,
 I should beat him and censure him well.
 But if your child would not live
 Accordingly, and as by rights he ought,

¹ Not Leopold VII., as Rückert has it in his notes, p. 603, by a misprint probably.

I should not trouble myself	12665
About beating him ; you had better do that.	
Thus shall act the Church ;	
She shall well coerce her own children	
And shall leave strange children	
Subject to their own fathers.	12670
Why should she coerce the Jews	
In any way ? They do not belong to her.	
As to heretics, it is her part to coerce them,	
Since they truly were her children.	
If a man is baptized,	12675
He is her child from that time ;	
If he afterwards wishes	
To depart from her, oh, believe me, *	
One ought to coerce him	
Into acting rightly and well.	12680
And let there be secular judgment	
If the ecclesiastical will not avail.	

Poor as this reasoning may appear to us, there is perhaps cause for congratulation in it : if generally accepted, it protected at least one class of human beings—for we can hardly say of the community—against bigotry, and may have paved the way, by the mere fact of some unbelievers remaining unpersecuted, to broader views. Things might have been worse. Thomasin helped to prepare the fifth Crusade ; not only the first, but also the third, only a quarter of a century before he wrote, were almost, as a matter of course, ushered in by a grand massacre of Jews.¹

Yet one very important observation must be made in excuse of Thomasin and his contemporaries : to us, at least to many, let us hope to most of us, heresy is a matter of dogma, and we are capable of distinguishing between the holding of theological opinions and the

¹ *Michaud, Croisades*, Livre ii.—*Richard of Devizes*, Lest. 3.—: About that solemn hour, in which the Son was immolated to the Father, a sacrifice of the Jews to their father the devil was commenced in the city of London, and so long was the duration of this famous mystery, that the holocaust could scarcely be accomplished the ensuing day. The other cities and towns of the kingdom emulated the faith of the Londoners, and with a like devotion dispatched their blood-suckers with blood to hell. In this commotion there was prepared, although unequally, some evil against the wicked, everywhere throughout the realm, only Winchester alone, the people being prudent and circumspect, and the city always acting mildly, spared its vermin.—*Bohn's Edition*.—Similar testimony abounds.

doing of moral acts. Not so with Thomasin ; the heretic is so, in his eyes, because he is a bad and immoral man. He is a being

To whom anything seems good 11269
That he happens to like doing,

and this he thinks he can safely assert from having known a thousand of them (v. 11300). And therefore it is useless to argue with heretics : they are without doctrine and without sense (v. 11303).¹ And Thomasin, while wishing to encourage, enlighten, and strengthen those whose dispositions are on the whole good, yet thinks it useless to occupy himself with those who are already thoroughly bad. Thus, in his Introduction, he wishes his book to fall into the hands of no *unsteady* man, and towards the conclusion of his book, he is very emphatic on this point. Addressing his work, as he sends it out into the world, he says :

Now be exhorted, Italian Guest,
When you have hold of a noble branch, 14710
Let not yourself be drawn from it
By a bad thorn. Though
One may say to the wolf
The Lord's prayer all day long,
He yet will never speak anything 14715
Like a lamb. Thus it happens
With the bad man, whatever one say to him,
It goes, as far as truth is concerned,
In by the one ear and out by the other.
How could there be any lasting impression 14720
Where a person does not think over (what has been said) ?
Know ye that a worthless person
Does not like to force his thoughts
Away from frivolous things to good.
Know ye that one cannot fill 14725
A sack with holes in it.

Therefore, my book, shalt thou remain
With him who is willing to write you
Into his heart and spirit.

¹ Thus, even half a century later, Saint Louis, fiercer than Thomasin, advises his court : " So I say to you, said the King, that no one, if he is not a very learned clerk, ought to dispute with them ; but a layman when he hears the Christian law gainsaid, should not defend it except with the sword, which he should drive into the gainsayer's body as far as he can make it go." *Joinville*, ed. Michel et Didot. 1858.—*Bohn's* ed. p. 362. (Chronicles of the Crusades.)

And again :

No man shall show to his lady-love, 14667
 Either through carelessness, or through lovingness,
 Nor to his lord, nor to his lady,
 Nor to his friend,
 This my speech,
 Unless virtue appear in them.

It may be difficult for Thomasin to conciliate with his orthodox Christianity, this repelling of those who are not already virtuous; but perhaps he only exaggerates the truth, that no fruit can be expected where there is no germ, a truth which in the following form recommends itself to, and will be approved by, educators :

To him who is virtuous or becoming so 14631
 To him I give in friendship
 My book, that with it
 He may steer his beautiful manners.¹
 Let him also with good action 14635
 Improve what he has
 Read in my book ;
 Let him be exhorted thereto.
 But he who has no good breeding and does not know how to
 act handsomely²
 Let him have nothing to do with it. 14640
 No teaching has power
 To make him virtuous
 In whom virtue is not inherent.
 You may strike the water all day long
 And yet it will not give fire,³ 14645
 Since to have fire is not in its nature.
 However cold a stone be
 Yet with cunning one wins
 Fire out of it, since that is in it.
 If there be sense in a man 14650
 However slow he may be to good works
 Yet one may with teaching bring him
 To virtue and piety.
 Know ye this as a truth ;
 Tinder brings out the fire well, 14655

¹ We have intentionally preferred this literal translation to one which, though more elegant, would wash out the original colouring of the thought.

² Swer nien hât zuht und *schoene site*. The translator has tried to come as nearly as seemed possible to him, to a convenient word expressing somewhat the *καλοκάγαθία* of the ancients. "Handsome is that handsome does."

³ Strike the water—the old way, which some of our generation still recollect, of striking sparks with a steel out of flint, and catch them up with tinder.

Yet no one must suppose
That it could make the fire.
Thus teaching rouses into waking
The sense, and yet cannot make it.

14656

The following extracts hardly require comment.

OVER-ARDENT LOVE.

Swer einem wîb ze holt ist,
dem ist wê zaller vrist.
swenners niht geseheu mac,
sô tobet er naht unde tac.
hey waz er gedenkend ist
unnützer dinge zaller vrist !
und sêhe man waz er tuot
mit gedanke in sînem muot,
er müeste sich sîn schamen sêre.

If one is overfond of a woman,
His heart aches at all times.
When he may not see her,
He rages night and day.
Hey, what useless things
He is thinking of always !
And were one to see what he does
With his thoughts in his mind
He would have justly to be ashamed
of himself.¹

LOVE.

Ein ieglichr hât wol die sinne
daz er weiz, möht man koufen minne,
daz diu minn wær eigen gar :
sus ist diu minne vrî, deist wâr.
swer wænet koufen minn umb guot,
der erkennet weder minn noch muot,
wan bêdiu muot und minne
suln uns bejagen unser sinne
und unser zuht niht unser guot.

Everyone may have the sense
To know that if one could buy Love,
Love were a slave :
Now love is freeborn, that is true.
He who fancies he can buy love for
riches
He knows not the nature either of
Love or of the Soul :
Since both the Soul and Love
Ought to conquer our senses
And our manners, not our goods.²

NO MAN WHOLLY A SLAVE.

Ein man ist niht eigen gar,
daz sol man wizen wol vûr wâr.
swer sîn wænt, hât niht vernomen
daz daz beste teil ist ûz genomen :
wan die sêle und den gedane
nie dehein man bedwaene.

A man is not wholly another's,
That shall you truly know.
He who fancies so, has not learnt
That the best part (of man) is excepted :
Since the Soul and the Thoughts
No man ever forced.³

IT IS BETTER TO SUFFER OPPRESSION THAN TO INFLICT IT.

Ob dich dîn herre schendet sêre,
daz ist dir niht sô grôz unêre
sô, daz du zaller vrist
mit dem dinge unmüezec bist
daz du dir einn vrien man
wil machen undertân,
alsô er ein vihe wære :
swerz tuot, der ist got unmære.

If thy lord should dishonourably
oppress thee,
That is not as great dishonour to thee,
As that thou at all times
Art busy about the thing
That thou shouldst wish to make a
freeman
Subject to thee,
As if he were a beast :
He who does that, is displeasing to God.⁴

¹ V. 4125-33.² V. 1243-51. Vide also p. 122.³ V. 7875-80.⁴ V. 7857-64.

RECOGNIZE MAN'S NATURE IN A SERVANT.

Jâ sol man sinen eigenkneht
läzen leben nâch mannes reht.

man sol an im got êrn,
man sol von im des dienstes gern,
daz man an die menscheit

gedenke, diu hôhe ist beleit.
wil du vertreten mit dem vnoz
den der liht hôher sitzen muoz
denne du in unsers herren rîche,
daz enstêt niht rîterliche.

Nay, as to your own servant
One shall let him live according to
Man's Rights.

One shall in him honour God,
One shall of him ask service
In such a manner as to be mindful of
humanity.

The
Wilt thou trample underfoot
Him who perchance may sit higher
Than thou in the kingdom of our Lord?
That is ill-befitting a knight.¹

TRUE NOBILITY, AND NOBLESSE OBLIGE.

Nobility also may	3855
Make us dream. If a man	
Is nobler (by birth) than another	
And thinks himself always of more account	
He deceives himself in that :	
No one is noble but the man	3860
Who has set his heart and mind	
Towards that which is really good.	
If a man be well-born	
And have lost the nobility of his disposition,	
I may truly tell you	3865
He quite shames his birth :	
If a man be well-born	
His birth demands at all times	
That he act well and justly. ²	
If he do not control himself thus to act,	3870
Then his vice is all the greater :	
His birth diminishes his honour.	
If ye have understood me well,	3915
You know that it is a mistake to think	
That he is courtly (gentle, lüfsch) at all times,	
Who is noble in the world :	
For as I have said even before this,	
To do well, that is Courtliness.	3920
If one has a courteous disposition,	
He does justly whatever he does.	
He who acts well at all times,	

¹ V. 7865-74.

² Ainsi plus votre rang vous élève en ce monde,
Plus il faut que chez vous le vrai mérite abonde ;
C'est lui seul qu'on estime, et vous devez savoir
Combien sur les humains l'exemple a de pouvoir.

Frédéric de Prusse à son frère.

Know ye that he is noble :
 Again, know ye that they are noble 3925
 Who are wholly the children of God.

Yet Thomasin is hardly a democrat, certainly not a revolutionist ; see his book iii. sect. vi. Each one is to keep his place, and it is foolish for a peasant to want to be a lord. As to the latter :

The people are to be as dear to him 3092
 As his own life is to him.

So that we arrive very nearly at the axiom : everything for the people, nothing through the people. Yet even thus to sum up, with the formula of enlightened despotism, his political views—the democratic tendency of which seems to us to have been exaggerated by Gervinus—would appear to be a mistake : formulas for constitutional government, whatever be their value to us, were very far from Thomasin's mind. He was not a constitution-monger. He accepted the state of the world as he found it, and instead of devising new machinery for guiding it, he rather sought to penetrate with a living spirit of justice and kindness the forms existing. Mr Mathew Arnold ought to rejoice in his acquaintance. Modern French socialists would be shocked by his incapacity for recognizing an equality where none exists ; he by no means overlooks the difference between the courtly knight or learned clerk and the boorish peasant ; when he wants to point out a particularly mean way of conduct, he is very apt to say that such a one acts like a tradesman, and he is, above all, a gentleman writing for gentlemen, no doubt with the view of making them conceive that word in its highest sense. His views on the position and duties of gentlemen seem to us greatly to coincide with that fine chapter in Pascal where the author forcibly shows to the young nobleman the unrealities and the unjustifiableness of his position unless filled for the public good.¹

Leaving politics alone, we may show our author's refinement and justness of feeling in some passages on Presents and Liberality.

Presents, he says, may be given out of wealth unjustly acquired, or with a view to a future advantage, or again from luxuriousness

¹ *Pensées*, art. xii. *Sur les conditions des Grands*.

(14125-50), but the giver cannot lay claim to liberality or gentleness :

Him who wishes to give to me anything in such a manner,	
I will never thank much ;	
For, truly, his present	
Has been made to Luxuriousness.	
I like the upright gentle man,	14155
But She through whom he has done it,	
Let her thank him if she like :	
I will never thank him much.	
But him who gives through gentleness	
Him I shall thank alway.	14160

And again :

Let every one see	
That his present be appropriate.	
One must always see	
Who is the man to whom one gives,	
That one may give at all times	14165
According as the man is.	
Yea, one ought to give to a rich man	
Rare things, surely,	
And to a poor one at all times	
That which is good and useful to him.	14170
He who will not make a distinction in people,	
Makes his presents in an indiscreet manner.	
Where there is no discretion,	
There is never any gentleness.	
For such un-virtue lies	14175
Far from virtue always.	
He who wants to give with discretion	
Let him give neither too little nor too much.	
He has measured according to his means	
Who gives justly.	
He robs himself, truly,	14180
Who scatters his own.	
.	
.	
The man who wishes to give more,	
Must unjustly take much ;	
He must swear and lie	
And rob and cheat.	14190
He who has taken it unjustly,	
Has departed from gentleness ;	
Whilst virtue does no harm,	
Harm is done by un-virtue.	

One is to give presents to any one in suchwise	14195
That no one derive displeasure by the gift	
From whom it may have been taken.	
He who wants to give justly,	
Let him not delay too much.	14260
He who lets himself be begged much,	
Know ye that he has sold	
What he gives away.	
.	
Such is not the action of the gentle-man	
Who can give justly,	
For he seeks out to whom to give	
And what he'd better give.	14290
.	
He who sets an angry countenance	
When he gives : know ye	14310
He had better give nothing.	
He who gives, fearing the giving,	
And holds back at all times,	
He is full of cowardice,	14315
And is equal to him who refuses.	
One ought, by one's eyes and mouth,	
To show at the time	
Of giving, that one's disposition	
Of willingly giving is perceived.	14320
Know ye that he gives properly	
Who so gives always,	
That with the present, he bestows	
Both his will and heart.	
He is but a poor fellow ¹	14325
Who thinks of the money	
When he is to give anything :	
.	
He is quite a tradesman	
Who gives for gain, that is true.	

We have, in the foregoing, while speaking of the author, anticipated much that might be said of the book. On the whole, it may be observed, it justifies the remark of Hallam² that "in the books professedly written to lay down the duties of knighthood, they appear to

¹ *Boesewiht*,—but that word had not then, or at least plainly not always, the meaning of its modern form.

² Middle Ages. Chap. ix. Part II. Chivalry connected with religion, and with gallantry.

spread over the whole compass of human obligations. But these, like other books of morality, strain their schemes of perfection far beyond the actual practice of mankind." And Thomasin's conception of courtesy may again well be summed up in Hallam's observation¹ that "this word expressed the most highly refined good-breeding, founded less upon a knowledge of ceremonious politeness, though this was not to be omitted, than on the spontaneous modesty, self-denial, and respect for others, which ought to spring from the heart." Yet it ought to be observed that Thomasin consciously took a wider range, and fathomed more deeply human life than similar writers did, or than he had done himself in this first book from which the second distinctly is a progressive step. Hence the more he proceeds in *The Italian Guest*, the more do externals disappear, whilst in the first canto, the partial reproduction of the Courtesy book, they still hold their place. As one who had heard much of virtue in those books which glorified chivalry, and related to the search for the Graal and to similar subjects, he proposed to himself to inquire what then was really virtue, and what the conditions of arriving at it, an inquiry by which he necessarily was led to condemn much of that very spirit which pervaded those novels and was exhibited as a model. For it appeared to him that virtue could not be acquired or kept, unless by Steadiness, a word which would, in his sense and in our vocabulary, comprise Firmness, Consistency, Fortitude, and perhaps a few more cardinal virtues. To this Steadiness, allying itself to Sense, is opposed Unsteadiness, as allying itself with Nonsense, or Frivolity and Un-wisdom, and whose children are Anger and Lies, while her sister is Immoderation.² And against that Unsteadiness, whereof the hero Percival had his good share, Thomasin's shafts are for ever levelled in many passages, whereof the following is a fair sample.

UNSTEADINESS.

What is Unsteadiness? A shame to the Lords,
 A going-astray in all lands.
 Unsteadiness is steadiness in bad things :
 No one can constrain her

1840

¹ Ibid., Courtesy.

² V. 9885.

To lean to good things.
 Unsteadiness is not free.
 Unsteadiness is quite a serf
 To Un-virtue at all times.
 Unsteadiness follows Un-virtue 1845
 Both in old age and in youth.
 Every Un-virtue has
 Both her service and her council.
 Unsteadiness is quite un-leisurely
 In all things, at all times. 1850
 What Unsteadiness does to-day
 That appears no longer good to her to-morrow.
 She builds up that which
 Her unsteady advice has broken.¹
 Unsteadiness changes quickly 1855
 The square into a curve.
 The curve she leaves not alone,
 As it had better stand on four corners.
 That is always her favourite game,
 To strive for that which she (really) has no wish for. 1860
 Change does not fright her :
 The little she makes into something great,
 The great, however, she makes little.
 Now she runs, now she walks softly,
 Now she mounts, now she falls down, 1865
 Now she goes away, to-morrow comes back,
 Now to the mountains, now to the sea,
 Now she is by herself (self-sufficient), to-morrow in a crowd,
 Now away to the wood, now in town :
 Here and there is she, 1870
 Since she carries that in her heart
 Which chases her every whither.
 From place to place she likes to go,
 But never from the desires of her own heart.
 If to the tail of a young dog 1875
 One ties a bell, he runs and turns
 Himself hither and thither, and knows not
 That he carries that from which he flees.
 Thus it is with the unsteady man.

As to the style of the book, our readers can form a correct idea by the fragments, both original and translated, which we give. On the whole, it cannot be said to be free from that prolixity which belongs to an age when time was plentiful ; yet here and there pas-

¹ Comp. Horace, Epist. I. lib. I. v. 100 et seq.

sages of great terseness occur, frequently in connection with an unexpected turn of thought.

Thomasin, like Lord Lytton, in our days, has dedicated his book to Germany, whose guest, very likely a welcome one, he felt himself.¹

We have said that *The Italian Guest* is preserved in many MSS. The oldest of these dates from 1248, and is preserved at Erbach; it is written with great neatness, and adorned with many illuminations, which Rückert believes may be reproductions of such as Thomasin himself made or indicated. The best, perhaps belonging to the end of the 13th century, is now again at Heidelberg; whence in the Thirty Years' War it had, with the rest of the library, been carried to the Vatican. It forms the basis of the text before us. Others are found at Gotha, Stuttgart, Dresden, Munich, Wolfenbüttel; and all the more valuable ones have been collated by our editor, while the Gotha MS. has served for some fragments published independently. To our Italian friends, mentioned above, we owe the information that the Abbey of Moggio in Friuli possesses, or possessed, a copy of Thomasin, the date of which reaches almost to the Erbach one.² These MSS., not counting several made in the last century, descend to the year 1457, showing therefore a continued appreciation of the book during about two centuries and a half. A writer, belonging to the middle of the 15th century, a Bavarian Knight, briefly mentions our book in his *Ehrenbrief*, which includes a kind of metrical *catalogue raisonné* of the literary works he was acquainted with.³

Still it had not the honour of being multiplied by the new art of printing; and however much it may have contributed to the spirit which produced Erasmus and the Reformers, it was not brought out again from partial oblivion by these, as was the case with Piers Ploughman, because it did not offer such polemical material

¹ V. 86-136.

² Da inventario di bene dell' Abazia di Moggio in Friuli si ha: Anno 1250 . . . liber teutonicus dictus *Valisergast*. Dall' archivio Capitolare di Udine.—No trace of this in Rückert or the other German writers.

³ Stanza 104. Den wällischen Gast gezieret Hat Thomasin von Clar. J. C. (the elder) Adelung's ed. of Püterich von Reicharzhausen, 1788, (in the Br. Mus.) p. 15.

as that book. For the first time, since the Reformation, Thomasin is mentioned by an obscure writer, named Turgel, in a short notice of MSS. in the Gotha Library, published in 1691.¹ After that, we find the book alluded to three or four times during the 18th century,² but merely as a literary fossil, and in a manner which leaves us very doubtful whether the notice which some literary antiquarians took of the MSS., led them to really read the book, and, to any extent, become aware of its spirit. The younger Adelung,³ when inquiring into the literary treasures of the Rome of his time, was one of the first to call more serious attention to *The Italian Guest*, at the end of the last century.⁴ Between his two publications on the Vatican Manuscripts, Eschenburg, the man who first gave to Germany a complete translation of Shakespere, published a few extracts from the Wolfenbüttel copy,⁵ and shortly after gave a chapter to our author in his 'Monuments of Old German Poetry.'⁶ It is, however, fairly allowable to believe that none of the writers mentioned had read Thomasin at all completely. This was reserved for our century, to the Grimms and their school. W. Grimm, in his *Reynard the Fox*, published from it a charmingly told fable; Wackernagel, in his Reading book, another extract on Etiquette or Courtesy rules. These two fragments have now been, for several years, before the English public, Max

¹ Monatl. Unterredungen, 1691. p. 926.

² By Cyprian, Schilter, Abbot Gebert of St Blasien, Miller, Gottsched, Bodmer. Vide Eschenburg, Denkmäler altdeutscher Dichtkunst. Bremen, 1799. pp. 114-144. (In the Br. Mus.)

³ Frederick Adelung. Nachrichten von altdeutschen Gedichten, welche aus der Heidelbergischen Bibliothek in die Vaticanische gekommen sind. Königsberg, 1796.

Altdeutsche Gedichte in Rom, oder fortgesetzte Nachrichten von Heidelbergischen Handschriften in der Vaticanischen Bibliothek, v. Fr. Adelung. Königsberg, 1799.

⁴ *Habent sua fata libelli!* Adelung, in the first of these works just quoted, says (p. 39), "Perhaps this notice will serve to call greater attention to the treasures of the Vatican, which, alas, are probably for ever lost to our country." General Tilly, 1622, had carried away those treasures from Heidelberg; his master, Maximilian of Bavaria, presented them to the Pope. The rise of Napoleon was required to bring them from the Vatican to Paris, his fall to bring back to Heidelberg what had remained of them in spite of Tilly's soldiers and other pilferers.

⁵ In *Braga and Hermode*, vol. 2, Sect. II. pp. 134-56, &c. (not in Br. Mus.); quotation from Adelung's second report on the Vatican library.

⁶ Eschenburg, Denkmäler. Vide above.

Müller having included them, with translations into Modern Grammar, in his German classics.¹ Gervinus read the book in manuscript, and has the merit of communicating to his readers his high appreciation of our author; but according to his wont, speaks *ex cathedra* only, not taking the reader into his confidence, not adducing a single passage.² The book, and the public, had still to wait till 1852,³ when Dr Heinrich Rückert, now Professor at the University of Breslau, and a son of the poet Friedrich Rückert, gave us the first and only edition of *Thomasin*,⁴—a work of great learning and labour, but little comfort to the reader. It would certainly fall under the ire of Mr Thomas Carlyle against index-less books.⁵ And it is not an index only we miss, but also a glossary of difficult words, and those simple but useful contrivances yecept headlines, or at least indication of book and chapter at the top of the page, marginal notes, references, foot-notes. All the notes, together with the collations, are thrown to the end; and the greater part of them consists of disquisitions on details of metre and rhyme.⁶ On the whole, the typographical arrangement is uncomfortable; and the whole book seems characterized by a desire to be useful to one already deeply engaged in the study of Early German, but forbidding to the general reader, who must, it seems, by no means be attracted, by this book at any rate, to the study of the subject. In all these respects, the publications of the Early English Text Society seem to the present writer greatly preferable. They appear not to wish to warn off the premises of learning the innocent wanderer in the realms of letters who may curiously

¹ The German Classics. Longman, 1864, pp. 201, 212, and notice of *Thomasin*, p. xvii.

² G. G. Gervinus, *Geschichte der deutschen Dichtung*. V. vols. 4 ed. Leipzig, 1853,—Vol. I. p. 429, et seq.; 3^d ed. 1846.

³ Dr Grion, an Italian writer, the author of an essay on *Ciullo di Aleamo* [Padua, 1858, Brit. Mus.], seems to have published a notice of *Tommasino*, previous to 1845. Dr Genala at Soresina, and Professor Maddalozzo at Vicenza, to whom we owe this information, have, so far, not succeeded in procuring for us the *opusculum*.

⁴ *Der Wälsche Gast des Thomasin von Zirclaria*. Zum ersten Mal herausgegeben mit sprachlichen und geschichtlichen Anmerkungen von Dr Heintr. Rückert. Quedlinburg and Leipzig; Basse. 1852. xii. and 612 pp.

⁵ Life of Frederic the Great.

⁶ Biographically and with reference to the age in which our author lived, hardly anything is said. Even our calculations as to dates, p. 83 and 92, we had to make for ourselves, and for ourselves had to find the elements of them.

wish to stray into the paths of old national literature ; they appear rather to invite him by a little freshness in the very hedgerows which surround their paradise, and to take him kindly by the hand, and help on his step, though it be a little faltering at first, instead of scaring him with thorns and brambles of grim learning, and striking awe into him for approaching the sanctum of the initiated. Will the editor, whom we have to thank, not only with all his readers, for the immense labour he has bestowed on the book, but also personally for a courteous communication in reply to an inquiry of ours, and will other German scholars who may read this, pardon us for this friendly expression of a doubt whether by writing too much as professional and professorial *Gelehrte* for a class, nay almost a caste, of *Gelehrte*, and enwrapped in their dignity, utterly scorning the *dilettante*, they do not, almost wilfully, restrict too much the number of their readers, fail in their mission of interesting a large section of the educated public, and drive them into the insipidities of what is called in Germany popular literature ?

We now proceed to summarize at some length the first, and for this 'Book of Courtesy' most important, canto, proposing to give a much slighter sketch of the following ones. And for the first portion of this, we use an old summary, which is found in the Gotha-manuscript, written by the same hand as the whole poem, and repeated, with small variations, in most of the other MSS. Though not by Thomasin himself, it is undoubtedly very old,—much older than that Gotha MS. itself, whose date is 1340 ; it is made, on the whole, fairly enough, and for its naïve quaintness may merit partial reproduction.

S U M M A R Y.

BOOK THE FIRST.—V. 1—1706.

“He who wants to know the matter whereof this book speaks, will find (here) the matters all marked down one after the other. This book is divided into ten parts, and each part has its chapters ; some parts have ten chapters, some more, some less, and each chapter has some sub-sections, some many, some few.

V. 1—140. Before I begin the book, I say in my preface that

every man is to apply himself that he may by his works fulfil that which he has read of good things ; and I tell how the bad man turns good counsel (speech) into bad ; and then I announce that I wish to speak of the Virtues, and what piety (*frumcheit*) is, and what Discipline or Good Breeding (*zucht*) is ; and I explain that I am not quite master of the language, and ask (those of) the German tongue to favourably receive my outlandish (*welsch*) book, and not to let any *unsteady* (*unsteten*) man see it, and then I begin my book thus.

I. v. 141—296. I first of all speak of Idleness, and what one is to do at all times, and that Laziness is a blot upon (*schencket*) a man, and how difficult it is to get free of such a habit ; and what teaching one is to be ashamed of, and how wicked he is who has (in him) Vain-gloriousness, Lies and Mockery, and that one is not to boast, and that Boasting is (*wirser*) worse still in women than in men.

II. v. 297—526. I also say how young gentlemen behave noisily (*schallent*) when they come from court to the tavern, and how badly that sits upon them, and that they ought to observe those things which they have seen at court, and that they ought to treat their followers well ; and I say how and wherefore one ought to honour strangers."

Let us here interrupt the summary by introducing a set of courtesy rules : they are those which Mr Max Müller has given, as mentioned above ; and for the convenience of such of our readers as may possess his 'German Classics,' we depart, in this instance only, from Rückert's text, and adopt the forms, chiefly dialectically and not essentially differing, of the Gotha MS., which Mr Müller, with Wackernagel, has followed. For we may observe in passing that the copyists of that time, in translating a book, were inclined to adapt its language to the dialect of their part of the country.

ich wil daz einr den andern êre,
wellent si volgen zûhte lêre.

I wish that one should honour the other,
If they wish to follow the teaching of
Good Breeding.

ir deheiner sol zeiner tür
den andern allen dringen für.

None of them shall at a door
Press before all the others.

Beidiu frowen unde hêrren
sulen frömde liute êren :
ist sin ein frömder man niht wert,
si habent sich selben geêrt.

Both ladies as well as gentlemen
Shall honour strangers :
If any stranger be not worthy of it,
Yet they have done honour to them-
selves.

ist sîn aber wert der,
sô habent si sîn beide êr.
man enweiz niht wer der frömde ist,

dâ von êr man in zaller frist.

swenn ze hove chumt ein fremder gast,
diu chint suln im dienen vast

sam er wære ir aller hêrre,

daz ist der zûhte wille und lêre.

si sulen haben chiuschiu wort,
wan daz ist der zûhte hort.

Ein frowe sol sich sehen lân,
chumt zir ein vremeder man.
swelihu sich niht sehen lân,

diu sol ûz ir chemenât

sîn allenthalben unerchant ;
bûeze alsô, si ungenant.

ein frowe sol niht vrevêlich
schimphen, daz stêt wîplich.

ich wil ouch des verjehen,
ein frowe sol niht vaste an sehen
ein fremden man : daz stet wol.
ein edel junchêrre sol
beidiu ritter unde vrowen
gezogenlîche gerne schowen.
ein juncfrowe sol senftliclich

und niht lût sprechen sicherlich.
ein junchêrr sol sîn sô gereit

daz er vernem swaz man im seit,

sô daz ez undurft si,
daz man im aber sage wî.

zuht wert den vrowen alln gemein
sitzen mit bein über bein.
ein junchêrr sol ûf ein banc,
sî sî churz oder lanc,
deheine wîse stên niht,
ob er ein ritter dâ sitzen siht.
ein vrowe sol ze deheiner zît
treten weder vast noch wît.
wizzet daz ez ouch übel stet,
ritt ein ritter dâ ein vrowe gêt.

But if he be worthy of it,
Then both parties are honoured.
One does not know who a stranger
may be :

Therefore let him be honoured at all
times.

When a strange guest comes to the Hall,
The young people shall do him great
service,

The same as if he were the lord of all
of them :

Such is the will and teaching of Good
Breeding ;

Let them speak choice words,
Seeing such is the treasure of Good
Breeding.

A lady shall allow herself to be seen,
When a stranger-man comes to her :
She who does not allow herself to be
seen,

She shall, out of her own withdrawing
room,

Be unrecognized everywhere ;
Let her thus suffer for it, let her not
be mentioned.

Let not a lady jest boldly :
That looks as if she were a common
woman.

This too I will maintain :
A woman shall not look much at
A stranger-man : that is befitting.

A noble young lord shall
Like to look modestly
Both upon knights and ladies.
A young lady shall assuredly speak
softly

And not loud.

A young lord (yunker) shall be so
ready

That he understands what one says to
him,

So that there may be no need
That one should for a second time say
to him, how (to do it).

Good Breeding forbids all ladies
To sit with one leg over the other.
A young lord shall not step upon a bench
Be it short or long,

In any wise,
If he sees a knight sitting there.

A lady shall at no time
Step out fast nor wide.
Know again that it is ill befitting
If a knight rides where a lady goes.

ein vrowe sol sich, daz geloubet,
chêren gegen des pherdes houbet

swenn si ritet ; man sol wizzen,
si sol niht gar dwerhes sizzen.
ein ritter sol niht vrâvelich
zuo frowen riten sicherlich,
ein vrowe erschraht hât diek getân

den spruch der bezzer wâr verlân.
swer sînem rosse des verhenget
daz ez eine vrowen besprenget,
ich wâne wol daz sîn wîb
ouch âne meisterschaft belîb.
zuht wert den rittern alln gemein
daz si niht dicke schowen ir bein,
swenn si ritent ; ich wâne wol
daz man ûf sehen sol.
ein vrowe sol recken niht ir hant,
swenn si ritet für ir gewant ;
si sol ir ougen und ir houbet

stille haben, daz geloubet.
ein junchêrr unde ein ritter sol
hie an sich ouch behüeten wol,
daz er stille habe die hant
sô im ze sprechen sî gewant :
er sol swingen niht sîn hende
wider eines frumen mannes zende.
swer der zûhte wol geloubet,
der sol setzen ûf niemens houbet
sîn hant der tiurer sî denn er,

noch ûf sîn ahsel : daz ist êr.

Wil sich ein vrowe mit zuht bewarn,

sô sol si niht ân hülle varn ;
si sol ir hüll ze samne hân,
ist si der garnâsch ân :
lât si amne lîbe iht sehen bar,

daz ist wider zûhte gar.
ein riter sol niht vor vrowen gên
barschinchere, als ichz chan verstên.

ein vrowe sol niht hinder sich
dicke sehen, dunchet mich.
si gê vûr sich gerihte
unde sehe umb ze nihte ;
gedenchen an ir zuht über al

ob si gehœr deheinen schal.
ein juncfrowe sol selten iht

A lady shall, believe ye,
Turn herself towards the head of the
horse

When she rides : one must know
She is not to sit quite crossways.
A knight shall not boldly
Ride up to ladies :
A woman, frightened, has often (done)
uttered

The speech that were better not made.
He who allows his horse
To bespatter a lady,
I quite suppose that his wife
Is without a good master likewise.
Good Breeding forbids all knights
To look much at their legs
When they ride : I am much of opinion
That one is to look upwards.
A lady shall not stretch her hand
Out of her garment, when she rides ;
She shall keep quiet her eyes and her
head,

Believe ye that.
A younker and a knight shall
Be careful in this too,
That he keeps his hand quiet
If he has to speak :
He shall not swing his hands
Against a good man's teeth.
He who well believes in Good Breeding,
Let him place on no one's head
His hand, who is of greater account
than himself,
Nor upon his shoulder : that is honour-
able.

If a lady wants to keep herself within
good breeding,
Let her not go out without mantle :
She shall gather her mantle together
If she is without her long upper gown :
If she let any part of her body be seen
bare

That is quite against Good Breeding.
A knight shall not go before ladies
With bare legs ; as far as I can under-
stand things.

A lady shall not much
Look behind her, so it appears to me :
Let her go forth straightways
And not look about her,
Everywhere mindful of her good
breeding,

Even though she hear a noise.
A young lady shall rarely

sprechen, ob mans vrâget niht.
 ein vrowe sol ouch niht sprechen vil,
 ob si mir gelouben wil;
 und benamen swenne si izzet,
 sô sol si sprâchen niht, daz wizzet.

Man sol zem tische sich bewarn,
 der mit zûhte welle varn,

(ge dâ hœret grôziu zuht zuo) :
 ein ieglich biderb wirt der tuo
 war, ob si haben alle gnuoc.

der gast der si sô geuoc,
 daz er tuo dem geliche gar,
 sam er dâ nihtes neme war.

swelch man sich rehte versinnet,
 swenne er ezzen beginnet,
 son rûer niht wan sin ezzen an
 mit der hant : dar ist wol getân.

man sol daz brôt ezzen niht
 ê man bring d' êrsten riht.
 ein man sol sich behüeten wol
 daz er niht legen sol
 beidenthalben in den munt.
 er sol sich hüeten ze der stunt
 daz er trinch und spreche niht
 di wil er hat in dem munde iht.
 die mit dem becher ze den gesellen ¹

sich chêren als si in geben wellen,
 ê si in tuon von den munden,
 der win hât si dar zuo gebunden.
 swer trinchende ûz dem becher siht,
 daz zimpt hüfschen mannen niht.

ein man vor dem gesellen sîn

niht neme, daz ist diu lêre mîn,
 daz im dâ gevalle wol,
 wau er vor im ezzen sol.

man sol ezzen zaller frist
 mit der hant diu engegen ist :

sitzt der gesell zer rechten hant,
 so iz mit der linchen hant.
 man sol ouch daz gerne wenden,
 daz man iht ezz mit beiden henden.
 man sol ouch dâ sô gâhen niht,

Speak anything, unless one ask her.
 Nor shall a lady at all speak much,
 If she will believe me ;
 And especially when she eats,
 Then she shall not speak, that know.
 One must be watchful over oneself
 If one will bear oneself with Good
 Breeding

(For it is a matter of much breeding):
 Let every honest host be
 Careful whether they (*his guests*) have
 all of them enough ;
 Let the guest be so well disposed,
 That he act similarly
 As if he were aware of nothing (*sup-
 posing anything to have gone
 amiss*).

A man who is well balanced in his mind,
 When he begins to eat,
 He touches nothing but his food
 With the hand : that is doing things
 well.

One must not eat the bread
 Before the first dishes are brought.
 A man shall be very careful
 Not to put (*food*)
 On both sides in his mouth.¹
 He shall at that time be on his guard
 Lest he drink or speak
 Whilst he has something in his mouth.
 Those who turn with the beaker to
 their companions

As if they were about to give it,
 Before they take it from their lips,
 Them the wine has bound thereto,
 Who, drinking, looks over the beaker
 (*does that which*) is not fitting for
 courteous men.

Let a man not take before his com-
 panions
 Anything, that is my teaching,
 Which may please him there ;
 For he (*the companion or guest*) shall
 eat before him.

One shall eat at any time
 With that hand which is over against
 (*the guest*) :

If the companion sit at your right hand,
 Then eat with your left hand.
 One shall also willingly avoid
 To eat anything with both one's hands.
 One shall also not be so greedy

¹ Babees Book, Pt. II. p. 29, l. 36, &c.

daz man mit dem gemazzen ¹ iht	As, at the same time with one's companion,
grife in die schüzzel mit der hant :	To put one's hand into the dish :
wan dâ von wirt unzuht bechaut.	For by that want of good breeding appears.
der wirt sol ouch der spise enpern	The host, again, shall go without such food.
der sine geste niht engern	As his guests do not like,
und diu in ist ungeuæme,	And which is unpleasant to them,
wan daz niht wol zæme ;	As that is not well befitting ;
und geb ouch niht ungemaine.	And let him also give nothing apart (for one).
der wolf izzet gerne eine :	The wolf likes to eat by himself :
der olbent izzet eine niht	The camel ² does not eat by himself,
ob er des wilds iht bi im siht.	If he sees any of the beasts near him.
dem volgt der wirt mit èren baz	Him follows the host with more honour
daun dem wolve, wizzet daz.	Than the wolf, know that.
der wirt nâch dem ezzen sol	The host, after dinner, shall
daz wazzer geben : daz stêt wol.	Hand the water : that befits him well.
dâ sol im dechein chneht	Therein shall no page (?)
denne dwahen : daz ist reht ;	Then wash (his hands) : that is right ;
wil dwahen im ein junchêrre,	If a younker wants to wash,
der gê hin dan vil verre.	Let him go far away.

We return to the summary, but give up from here the quotation of the old *résumé*, still, however, availing ourselves of it, extending or restricting it, as may seem best, and varying it by the introduction of passages.

III. v. 527—580. That one ought not to laugh too much, nor secretly spy out one's companion's doings ; and that one ought to beware of him who likes thus to play the spy ; and that one shall faithfully keep secret what one's companion tells one, and why one ought to do so, and that one is to be careful of whom, to whom, what, how, and when one speaks ; and of what the children of lords are to beware.

IV. v. 581—686. That one is to speak little, and to listen much. Children are to be taught reverence. Thus made to feel reverence,

¹ *gunazzen* ? Thus the Gotha MS., in M. Müller's book. Dr Rückert, following the Heidelberg MS., has *gesellen*, which is plain.

² *Olbente*, *albende*, or, more rarely *olpent*, seems, etymologically, clearly *elephant*, ἐλέφας, *avros*, with which compare Goth. *albendas*, O.H.G. *olpenta*, but is not used to designate this animal, but the camel.—Grimm, *Geschichte der deutschen Sprache*. 42. Yet, we find in Müller & Zarncke's *Mittelhochdeutsch. Wörterbuch* (whereof the leaves in the Brit. Mus. copy were first cut by the present writer), p. 437, two or three passages which seem plainly to point to the elephant.

they will be able to control themselves. Every child shall bear in his mind some pious (upright, reverential, and gentle, *frumen*) man, and shall think of him, so as to fancy that this pattern sees whatever the child may do ;—and who are to be obeyed, and that one is to have (good) habits at home, so as to bear oneself well at court ;—and that one is to preserve modesty ;—and that one is not to follow (the guidance) of envy and anger.

V. v. 687—777. That one is to beware of gambling ; and that he is thought a fool that speaks too much, and also he that is too silent ; and that no one is to do or to say all that comes to his mind, and that one is to speak and to act with sense ; and how foolish he is that in his childhood fancies he may know without teaching ; for

Der sin bescheidet einen man
von dem vihe daz niht kan.

Sense distinguishes a man
From the beasts that know nothing.

and that one ought willingly to hear good teaching, and to let the bad go.

VI. v. 773—880. How one cannot find a good pattern in Helen (*“ der schoenen Küneginne diu wîlen da ze Kriechen was ”*) ; and that a woman is not to be glad if another woman acts badly.

On the contrary :

da von ein biderbe wîp sol
trûric sîn, tuot niht wol
ein ander wîp.

A good woman ought
To be sad, if badly acts
Another woman.

and she had better look out for herself, that she may not get into the same way :

wan si sol ir vûrhten hart
daz si niht kome in ir vart.

Let women rather take warning (lit. some sense) from the mishap of the woman who was called Helena.

In Greece over all the lands
She was a powerful queen.
She had much beauty and little sense,
Her beauty gained her great shame :
Beauty without sense is a weak security.

824-28

And what kind of sense a woman shall have, and what sense is enough for a woman ; a detail on which in these days of women's rights, colleges, examinations and so on, old Thomasin may be heard with some little additional interest, rather on the conservative side :

- v. 837. A woman has enough sense
 In that she be courteous and pliable,
 And also have good gestures
 With beautiful speech and a chaste mind.
 If she then have more sense,
 Let her have Good Breeding and Teaching,
 Let her not make a show of what she has in her mind ;
 One does not require her for a Mayor.¹
 A man must have many arts :
 In a noble woman Good Breeding requires
 That she have not much artfulness,
 If she is honest and noble.
 Simplicity sits well upon women,
 Yet it is right that a woman
 Have that teaching and that sense
 That she may beware of un-love.
 One often calls Love the thing
 That one had better call Un-love.

854

That beauty, friends, birth, riches, love (or loveliness ?) are worthless without sense ; and that Beauty may do harm to honour ; and that Beauty and lightheadedness (lit. nonsense, *unsinn*) are two girdles on a woman's body (?) ² which draw her the wrong way.

diu schœne macht daz man si bite,
 sô hilfet der unsin vast dâ mite
 daz er ræt der vrouwen wol
 ze tuon daz si niht tuon sol.

The beauty causes her to be solicited,
 And the nonsense greatly helps there-
 To advise the woman [with
 To do what she ought not to do.³

VII. v. 881-994. That one is not to give away honour for beauty ; or with a view to be made beautiful for ever :

Durch boesen Kouf ze Markte gât
 Swer umbe schoen sîn êre lât,

He makes a bad bargain
 Who gives his honour for beauty ;

and that beauty is dishonoured without discipline.

Every kind of malice has its gestures (or outward appearance).

(Yet) one is deceived by appearances ; seeing deceives vastly, in both women and men [*am sehen triuget man sich dicke*, 939].

beidiu man und ouch wip
 erzeigent oft daz in ir lip
 und in ir herzen niender ist :
 daz machet gar ir bæser list.

Both man, and also woman,
 Often show that which in their bodies
 And in their hearts is nowhere :
 That is caused by their wicked cun-
 ning.

¹ *ze potestât*. The author thinks of the Italian *podestà*, as chief municipal magistrate or mayor ; one of the few passages by which he betrays his origin.

² *Gebende* : ornaments, head-dresses, according to Wackernagel, *Edelsteine* : neither gives a satisfactory sense. The word *Ge-bend-e* points to the verb *bind*.

³ v. 877-86.

A wicked woman's beauty is not to be considered as beauty, is only skin-beauty ; she is but like gilt copper, a baser metal.

daz an im lützel goldes hat
under schoener vel ist valscher rât.
man sol wizzen daz valsche liut
hânt niht mêr schoene wan ir hiute.

. . . wherein there is little gold.
Under a fine skin, bad counsel.
One must know that false people
Have not more beauty than is in their
skins.

Some virtues sit better upon women than upon Knights, and some sit well upon Knights, and some vices ("un-virtues") sit worse upon women, and some worse upon Knights.

In the detail of this there seems some arbitrariness :

One gets poisoned in honey even
When the sweetness is meant to betray us.
The tongue of false women is honey,
Their will is venom, know that, Christian.
Falseness befits no one well :
A woman (however) shall guard
Against Falseness more than a man ;
Falseness sits worse upon women.
Thus mildness is befitting for all people
Every woman shall be mild ;
Yet mildness befits Knights better
Than ladies, know ye that.
Humility befits both well :
A Knight and a lady shall
Be humble-minded ; yet befits humbleness
The ladies better, and their goodness
Shall be ornamented with that virtue
Both in old age and in youth.
The Knight, piety (vrümkeit) befits well ;
The ladies, faithfulness and truth.
The Knight, if timid, is dishonoured ;
So is a false woman equally fallen (deseccrated away from
her station, annihilated)
The crafty Knight is quite without honour,
The stupid woman is without good teaching.
Archeiness befits not the Knight :
A lady shall be on her guard against unsteadiness
And against unfaithfulness,
And against haughtiness, that is good.
If she have not these virtues in her,
Her beauty is quite deseccrated.

VIII. v. 995—1162. Of the snares of the fools ; and who is a

good wife ; and what young gentlewomen and youngers like to be told ; and whom they are to follow ; and what those are to hear and to read who have come out of childhood,—romantic poems¹—*aventures*—are good for the young and the little-cultivated, as are pictures. But those whose minds are more developed, or literally *who have come to their senses*, they are to be taught (lit. mastered) differently from children ; and that an eloquent (lit. well-speaking) man shall not depart from truth.

IX. v. 1163—1337. I have travelled away from my aim, and have said things that I should not have said but for the young people. I should yet have liked to speak of Knights and ladies, as I have done formerly in a book on Courtesy which I wrote in Italian."

Of what nature is love.

Der minn natüre ist sô getân :
si machet wiser wîsen man,
und gît dem tûrn mêr nârrischeit,
daz ist der minne gewonheit.

This is the nature of love :
It makes a wise man wiser,
And gives the fool more foolishness,
That is love's custom.²

How one is to guard a wife ; and one is neither to gain her by magic, nor force her, nor buy her ;³

HOW TO GUARD A WIFE.

I taught (in the lost Italian book) that one
Ought to conquer one's wife with (good things) kind acts ;
That she should be steadfast (*staete*) to one.
He who locks her up alone
He dispenses quite with her service.
Now tell me, of what good is it,
That I lock up her body,
If then her will is not as it should be ?
No lock will keep the mind :
The Body without the heart is a feeble possession :
Locks create great hatred :

¹ Here, v. 1029-78 is introduced a list of legendary names, the subjects either of well-known French and German poems, or mentioned in some of these ; and in some cases perhaps the titles of books that are lost. The list, beginning with *Andromache*, who is not known to have given the title to any substantive poem, finishes with a paean in honour of *Percival*. Some passages in this are difficult and obscure. H. Rückert, 528—32.

² V. 1179-82.

³ Vide W. Humboldt, *Sphere and Duties of Government*, p. 31, seq., on Matrimony and Love.

Kind actions act as a better safeguard.
 Love, gained by magic and by force,
 And bought love, are no love.
 He who has had recourse to magic,
 Know ye that he has violated
 Her whom he has loved by such means ;
 He has the (manners) ways of an uncourteous man.
 He has quite an uncourteous mind
 Who does violence to women.

that bought love is not love ;—

swer mit hüfscheit niht werven kan,	He who cannot woo with courtesy,
der wirt billich ein koufman.	Let him properly become a tradesman.
gekouft minn hât niht minne kraft :	Bought love has not the power of love.

that love would be a serf (*eigen*) if one were to buy it ; and that it is to be free. And what one is to give through love :

One shall give heart for heart,
 One shall with faith give faith,
 With love (*liebe*, not *minne*) one shall gain love.
 One shall with steadiness confirm
 Steadiness and truth.¹

and that the gift does not mend what is evil.

That a man gives to her who makes a fool of him ;—that a man gives (will give) to her who herself has enough, and not give to her who has nothing.

A fool sees what ornaments a woman has outside on her body, the wise man sees what are the ornaments of her soul ;—the following goes again into the direction of woman's right, and this time on the side of our reformers. That a man shall not deny a woman her possessions (*quot*). On this subject our author expresses himself briefly but pithily :

Ich lêrt daz dehein biderbe man	I taught (again in the lost Italian book)
niht enkêr sinn muot dar an	that no upright man
daz er abe spricht ein wibe ir quot.	Should turn his mind to
wan swelch wip daz getuot,	Denying a woman her goods.
ez stât ir vil bæslîche :	If any woman does such a thing
doch stât es wirser ungelîche	It befits her very ill :
einem man, daz sult ir glouben.	But incomparably more ill does it befit
wizzt daz ich gerner wolde rouben.	A man : that you shall believe.
	Know ye that I sooner would rob on
	the highways. ²

¹ v. 1251-56.

² v. 1330-37.

What a woman may take from her friend :

Ich lêrt waz einer vrouwen zeme	I taught (before) what it was fit for a woman
daz si von ir vriunde neme :	To take from her friend :
hantschuoch, spiegel, vingerlin,	Gloves, looking-glass, ¹ finger-ring,
vürspangel, schapel, blüemelin.	Brooch, hat, flowers.
ein vrouwe sol sin wol behuot	A woman must be well on her guard
daz si niht neme grœzer guot,	Not to take anything of greater value,
ezn wær daz sis bedorfte wol :	Unless she be in want of it :
so erloube ich ir dan daz si sol	In that case I allow her to
nemen mêre und niht sô vil,	Take more, yet not too much.
sin erzeige wol daz si wil	Let her plainly show that she feels
daz ir der vriunt si vür daz guot,	The friend to be of more value than the present,
wan anders hiet si valschen muot.	Otherwise she has a false spirit.
ob ir ze nemen iht geschiht	But if it happen to her to take
mêr, bedarf sis danne niht,	More, though she do not want it,
ir ist der vriunt niht liep gar,	Then she really does not care for the friend,
daz sol man wizzen wol vür wâr.	That ye shall know. ²

That wives shall be steady to their husbands ;—likewise a husband shall not care for another's wife ; (the motive adduced is, however, not very lofty :)

ja ensol er sich niht kêren an	Nay, he shall not care for
ander wip ; swer eine hât,	Another wife ; he who has one
der mac der andern haben rât.	May do without another.

“What I, however, most like in women, is that they be truthful :”

Mir was ie liep der vrouwen êre ;	To me the honour of the ladies was ever dear ;
kund ich iht daz in nütze wære,	If I knew aught that would be of use to them,
ich kêrt ez gerne an ir dienest.	I should willingly apply it in their service.
mir ist an einer vrowen ez liebest	What I like best in a woman is
daz si vor valsehe si behuot.	That she guard herself against falseness.
valsch kêrt minn zunminne, unde guot	Falseness turns love into un-love, and good

¹ Be it not forgotten that this trait of manners is found in the 13th century : can, in the face of this, the common tradition be upheld, that the introduction of looking-glasses into England took place in the reign of Elizabeth only ? And how about the looking-glass Richard II. makes use of in Shakspeare's play ? of course, the incident may be introduced by the poet, and without historical foundation. Compare also a remark of Mr Rossetti's, on page 5 of his Essay, on the advance of refinement in Italy, as compared with other countries.

² v. 1338-52.

ze übeln dingen, und daz wise
ze swarzen mit al sînem vlîze.
ze bitter gall kêrt valsche die sûeze

und ze ungnâdn ir schoene grûeze.
lûge ir geheiz, ir senfte ist zorn,

ir lachen weinn, ir linde dorn.

Into evil things, and the white
Into black, with all diligence.

Into bitter gall turns falseness the
sweet,

And into disfavour her fine greetings.
Into lie her orders, her gentleness into
anger,

Her laughing into weeping, her soft-
ness into thorns.¹

An upright wife shall not allow her body to be touched ; and no man shall do it ;—nor shall a man who understands courtesy invite an upright wife ; nor solicit her (concerning which matter our author is rather prolix, showing among others the evil effect which such solicitations have in making women vain). But she is mistaken in fancying herself so very excellent : lying in her bed she thinks, such a one has done so much for my sake, another has woo'd me still more ; I know as a truth that I am beautiful and a dear creature, since these gentlemen, of so much standing, turn their love to me, with all their hearts and their minds. This is a mistake :

dar umbe sagich iu vûr wâr
daz diu vrouwe ist betrogen gar
diuz vûr êre haben wil
daz man si bite des dinges vil.
ich hânz iu nu genuoc geseit,
man tuotz niht durch ir werdekeit,
ave dâ von daz si hât den muot
daz man weiz daz siz gerne tuot.

Therefore I truly tell you :

That woman is wholly deceived
Who fancies it an honour

If she be much solicited.

I have now sufficiently told you,
Men do not do it from her worth,

But because she has such a spirit

That one knows she willingly does it.²

The King's treasure, which thieves know to be well guarded, is not attacked ; the poorer house, unguarded, invites the ill-doer. So does an inviting woman ; and a man having conquered the undefended beauty, goes to others.

XI. v. 1513—1706. How one can know what an old woman's disposition was in her youth (a section which forms a good counterpart to Béranger's wicked song of the Grandmamma). How one is to act by a lady whom one cannot gain. One is in kindness to leave her ; scolding will not win her, and is shameful to a man, who by so doing turns her spirit against him. "Of falseness I have said a deal (ein teil), more about it may be found in my Italian book ; I wrote it in honour of a lady who asked me for it. There

¹ V. 1371-84.

² V. 1435-45.

ich lërte wie ein vrouwe solde
 diu sich gern bewaren wolde
 erkenn die valschen minnære.
 ich lërte mangel schœnen list,
 daz man, baz sîn êre vrist

vor den valschen ungetriuwen.

I have taught how a lady,
 Who would guard against mischief,
 Should know false lovers.
 I taught many a pretty art
 How one can the better keep one's
 honour
 Against the false and faithless ones."

Against rash marriages. That a woman shall know to whom she entrusts (lit. recommends) her heart and body; and that this is more important than to whom she entrusts her worldly goods :

Man sol den man erkennen wol
 dem man sîn herze enphelhen sol.
 jâ sol wizen ein biderbe wip
 wem si enphelhen welle ir lip ;

wan si ouch liht wizen wolde
 wem si ir guot enphelhen solde.

One shall know well the man
 To whom one is to entrust one's heart.
 Well shall an upright woman know
 To whom she wishes to entrust her
 body,—

Even though she should know but little
 To whom she were to entrust her goods.¹

So shall likewise a man guard himself against an undesirable woman (*unvertigen* = whose ways are not the best ; in modern German the word (*unfertig*) would mean, if used in this connection, *incomplete*, so that we seem enjoined to marry paragons only).

unvertigiu wip und diebe
 die sint mir geliche liebe.
 ein biderbe man sol hân den muot,
 bewar vor dieben sîn guot,
 und vor dem unvertigen wip
 bewar noch harter sînen lip.

Loose women and thieves
 Are to me of equal worth.
 Let an upright man have the courage
 To guard his goods against thieves ;
 And to guard still more his body
 Against a loose woman.

A lady may love him whom she has known to be good. One of her own station is preferable ; but should he not be so, let her make sure that he is upright and good ; then she may do it (love him). Contrariwise, noble birth and riches must not weigh with her if he is not good. Let her not make the mistake of preferring a seemingly easy-going but foolish person to a wise man :

Ein wip gedenket lihte daz
 mir wirt mit einem tôren baz
 dan mit einem wîsen man
 der allez daz merken kan
 daz ich tuon ode sprich.
 mit den gedanken triugt si sich.

ein wîs man übersiht vil
 des ein tôr niht übersehen wil

A woman easily thinks thus :
 'I shall be better off with a fool
 Than with a wise man
 Who may (observe) mark everything
 I do or say.'
 With such thoughts she deceives herself :
 A wise man overlooks much
 That a fool will not overlook

¹ v. 1579-84.

und niht übersehen kan.
wizzt daz der unwise man
der verkêret aller slaht,
sô hât der wis die meisterschaft

daz erz allez kêrt ze guot.

And cannot overlook,
Know that the unwise man
Turns everything into evil,
Whilst the wise man possesses the
mastery

Of turning everything into good.¹

Let not a woman leave the path of duty in hopes that nothing will be said about it, or that if said, it will not be believed. Let no man try to further his suit to a lady, by dispraising another whom she may favour, or by praising himself: the former is uncourteous; fools can do the latter. Besides, dispraising another suitor is blaming her who has seen a friend in him.

"I have taught what virtue was to be cultivated by women, and how a noble Knight was to act to make himself pleasant, and what was fitting for women, and what they should occupy themselves with, how to bear themselves, how to speak to old ones as well as to young;—(all) this I said in Welhish (Italian?), and were I to say it in German, I might not say it so (well) easily.

I will now return to my matter in hand, and speak of gentlemen, and how they are to tend their virtues, for he who does not do so, his virtue is as good as lost. And so

Ich hân verent daz êrste teil :
got gebe uns zuo dem andern heil !

I have ended the first part :
God give us grace for the second !"

BOOK II.

treats of Steadiness, then of Unsteadiness, shows the harmony existing in things above man,—the steadiness of the heavenly bodies,—the action of the elements,—and the unsteadiness of nations and kings. The end of the world is coming.

BOOK III.

continues the picture of the unsteadiness of man, and treats of Riches and Poverty, of Glory, Dominion, Power, Nobility, and Name.

1. Whence we are so unsteady, and why God does not prevent us from being so.

2. Everything in nature is steady, only man's heart is not so. Each one strives after the position of the other, instead of filling his

¹ v. 1606-19.

own. How strange if the dog would draw the cart, and the ox hunt the hare. But they are not so foolish : men are.

3. That our lots are well portioned out, and the poor are not worse off than the rich ; and what both are in want of, is Truth, and what they fancy their wants to be ; and of the great trouble men take to get what is not for their good ; and how they must leave it all behind in the end.

4. That the good things of this world do not make a man good ; and that riches do us more harm than good, and a good many kindred considerations.

5. How the poor man worries himself with the thought of how he might become rich, and what he would do then, and how this is apt to make him mean and of low cunning, and what castles in the air he builds ;—and that riches are a trouble both to get and to keep.

6. That the people are better off than the lords, and that it is foolish for every one to wish to be a lord. And how the lord is encumbered with care.

7. Of the foolish ideas and plans people make themselves as to what they would do if they were lords ; and how, not having the realities, they plague themselves with their fancies. Their imaginary hunting and hawking parties, and how they awake disenchanted.

8. That the powerful are not better than the powerless, and that the powerful are worse off ; and how they for ever scheme how to bring others into subjection, and that they never succeed to their heart's desire. And that all power is most unsteady, as many examples from ancient history and contemporaneous events prove. And the power of the powerful depends really on the powerless. Thus Riches, Lordship, and Sovereign power cannot give satisfaction to men.

9. Of the foolish and criminal thoughts of him who dreams of gathering a great army and slaying his enemies.

10. Of the frivolity of glory, of a desire to spread one's name, and of gathering praises ; and of people who praise you to your face, and slander you behind your back. And that good things are not done by desire of glory, and how greed of fame encumbers a man ; and of his foolish dreams.

11. Of nobility, and its obligations ; and what real nobility is ; and that we are all God's children by birth, and those who remain so are really noble.

12. On various desires, which various men have : Play, the pleasures of the Table, Hawking, Lying in one's Inn, Hunting, Women ; and how all these give us much trouble both whilst we are engaged with them ; and, when not possessing them, whilst we dream of them.

BOOK IV.

1. On Riches, Dominion, Power, Name, Nobility and Desire, as connected with Unsteadiness. These need not trouble us if we do not wish to serve Un-virtue.

2 & 3. On Steadiness ; definition.¹ A few virtuous acts do not make a virtuous man. Various subdivisions of this matter. The good man turns whatever befalls him into good, the bad man to evil. Thus the bad man, if he becomes rich, is uncharitable.²

4. Why God permits a bad man to do harm to a good one ; and how it can be right that the devil is powerful.

5. Why evil sometimes befalls the good man, whilst it goes well with the bad one.

6. No one can penetrate God's decrees, and what he does is done well.

7. Let the good man fear nothing, and not care how long, but how, he lives.

8. On the death of friends, which is to be regretted, but with moderation. On the death of married people, and on second marriage, not too hastily to be entered into ; and on chastity during widowhood. On secret transgressions.

9. Whether one shall recognize one's friends in the world to come.

BOOK V.

1. Division of things into good, evil, and neutral.

2. The *Summum Bonum*, and the way to it.

¹ V. 4345-62.

² V. 4391-4400.

3. What attracts us to the highest good, and how the devil tries to drag us down the ladder again, using six hooks, called Riches, Power, Nobility, Name, Desire, Dominion.

4. No one comes to God but by virtue. No one possesses virtue entirely but God. A picture of such as have gone to hell through vice. On the error of redeeming sin through almsgiving; and that it is not possible for the rich to gain more in the eyes of God than the poor. Of the emperors Constantine and Julian who burn in hell.

5. On unjust lords. That an unjust ruler is an illegitimate one.¹ Of the good old times, and that it is the fault of the lords that the times have become worse. Good knights are concealed, let the rulers find them.

6. The priests, too, were better in olden times. And the good among them now are not honoured as they used to be. Wise people are to be beloved, and the lords are to help those who wish to learn, and so are the bishops; and why they do not do so, and how great genius is allowed to run to waste through poverty.

7. Why art and knowledge are not acceptable: with something more on the neglect of learning. We are too much taken up by the desire of gain, and by the idea that the richer is the better man. And this again is the fault of the lords. Idleness leads to vice; and those lords that are responsible for the neglect of learning will fare worse even than we. And some more about hell. On pitch and sulphur abounding there; also of the chains and baths which they use in that place. And how, in defence, a chain of virtues may be prepared, and a bath hot with goodness.

BOOK VI.

1. To be steadfast in virtue, which, notwithstanding many drawbacks, ultimately gains the day. Examples of men who, by their virtue, brought great honour on God, even in their lifetimes, such as Bias, Job, Joseph, Moses, and David.

2. We ought to praise a good man, but the praise of the unwise

¹ V. 6253-80.

is worthless. Of heartless rich men and usurers. On bringing one's children up to being merciful.

3. Of gentleness, and of anger, arrogance, envy, and unchastity, as sources of sorrow. Of robbers and thieves.

4. Mild men are more rarely injured than heartless ones. Malice comes from cowardice. Of the necessity of a pious knight waging war against the vices ; and details of this warring, in which the Devil and the World and Desire help the Vices. Four troops of Vices and their order of battle.

5. Exhortation to knights and to priests. Of the duty of lords to those who are submitted to them, and how we ask our inferiors often to do both good and evil, whilst God asks us to do good only. Of our duties towards our friends.

6. Against wicked counsellors, the devil's whetstone and net. Dangers of greediness. Good cheer in poverty. On the necessity of faith in God's judgments. And some more about hell, whither hasten both priests and laymen.

BOOK VII.

1. Of the soul, and of its relations with the body, and its superiority to it.

2. Of the mind being tuned either to good or bad things ; and some more of the misdoings of priests and knights, and also of greedy judges. Of the four powers: Imagination, Memory, Reasoning power, and Intellect.

3. Of the Arts. None is so little that one could know it wholly. Of the seven arts, and who were the best masters in each.

4. Of Theology and Medicine.

5. Of the decrease of learning. Exhortation to parents.

6. Of the five doors of the soul. The five senses as the servants of the four powers (vid. above, 2).

7. The soul in the body, as a king in his land.

8. Resuming the remarks on the powers of the body and soul, and their application.

BOOK VIII.

1. Un-Steadiness has a sister : Immoderation, who is also the mes-

senger of Foolishness, and playfellow of Drunkenness. Definition and illustrations.

2. By Immoderation Virtue becomes Un-virtue.¹

3. How by Moderation, Un-virtue may be changed into Virtue.

4. No good thing is immoderate. On Moderation in prayer, in church-going, and in fasting.

5. Moderation in speech, laughing, sleeping, waking, weapons, and dress. Examples of men who were wanting in moderation, and came to grief accordingly.

6. Further examples of contemporaries who have come to grief by arrogance and immoderation, King John of England among them, and of others that have risen through humility.

7. Continues examples, taking them from olden times.

8. Of the fall of arrogant people. Of Disobedience to rulers, and of bad government. Examples of unruliness. Of the authority of the Pope (whom we scold at all times, though he is given to us a master by God).² Exhortation to continue the Crusade, and censure of those poets who mislead people from this aim, by other songs; on the high mission of poets.³ On heretics.⁴

9. Appeal to the German Knighthood to enter on a new Crusade.

10. The same to the German princes and to King Frederic (Emperor Frederic II.); much of this a paraphrase of Innocent III.'s Bull on the subject.

11. Return from this digression. Some more on arrogance, and the various ways by which it brings men to fall. Against malice, envy, and perjury.

BOOK IX.

"Here I make a little preface, and say how my pen complains against writing too much, and what answer I make, and then I begin my book." This little preface or episode we shall presently quote in full. The rest of this book is devoted to the consideration of Justice and the duties of judges, and

¹ *On a les défauts de ses qualités.*

² V. 11090-145.

³ V. 11201-25; vide above, page 83.

⁴ Vide p. 97-100.

BOOK X.

treats of Mildness, Liberality, and Kindness; and winds up the subject, the author taking leave of his readers, and addressing his book as he sends it into the world.

Before we ourselves take leave of gentle and good Thomasin, we append a few further detached extracts from the last nine books, with which we did not wish to break the summary, and which we have thus reserved as a *bonne bouche* :

IS LEARNING CONDUCTIVE TO MORALITY ?

He who injures the mind of his child,	9291
By (false) economy and by (desire of) gain,	
In not sending him to school	
Nor to court, know ye that he turns	
His profit into a great loss.	9295
If one leaves to his child not sense,	
And leaves him riches, he knows not well	
What he is to do with them.	
Maybe that an unwise man	
Who knows nothing at all or but little,	9300
Nor, in consequence of his laziness, wishes to learn,	
Offers speech like the following :	
He answers me that	
The un-learned act better	
Than he who is a good scholar,	9305
And does not do as he ought.	
The priest who has got good learning	
Is hankering, just like unlearned people,	
After wicked things and sin,	
And making gains at all times.	9310
" Why then should we learn anything,	
Since we see that such things happen ? "	
I will give him an answer	
To his speech, with one word :	
Doest thou fancy, that he who can read decently	9315
Is therefore a learned man ?	
Truly there is a goodly number of priests,	
I really mean to assure you of that,	
Who read that they may see what is written,	
And yet may never succeed	9320
In understanding the writing.	
Thus it happens to a peasant	
Who goes to church	

And stands in front of the pictures :
 Although he sees the painting, 9325
 Yet what it means he knows not;
 He does not know what the picture signifies :
 Understanding is not such a common thing.
 How then wilt thou, that he
 Should know better than another 9330
 What he is to do, if he can understand
 Nothing at all of what is the meaning of the writing ?¹
 Now let us assume that he is really learned,
 Cannot you take a like case
 In the well-instructed physician, 9335
 Who greatly craves after unwholesome food
 And yet knows that it will injure him,
 But follows his greediness :
 Thus perchance acts a man
 Who can well understand the writings, 9340
 And whom yet his lechery draws
 Into that whereby he gains trouble and sorrow.
 (Yet) the art is to be held dear by us :
 The physician can with his physic
 Restore his health 9345
 If at any hour he fall sick.
 If a man falls into a ditch, know ye
 That he comes out of it better
 If he has sight than if he has none.
 Just so it fares with him 9350
 Who is really learned : if he do sin,
 He thinks of it at another hour
 That he may again do good,
 And comes back again to the Commandments. 9355

 Rarely an unlearned man doeth that.

PROPER MOURNING FOR A FRIEND.

Ich wil iu sagen daz ich wil	I will tell you that I wish
daz man sîn vriunt niht klage vil,	A man not to bewail much the loss of a friend ;
doch sol man niht ân klage lân	Yet one shall not let
sîne vriunt von hinne gân.	One's friend go hence without mourn- ing. ²
.	
Swie ich daz gesprochen hân,	As I have said
daz man schier lâz sîn vriunde gân,	That one is to leave one's friends to depart,
man solz alsô verstên niht,	You must not understand

¹ The question, thus put, is still practical. See the excellent pamphlet :
 'An exaggerated estimate of the value of reading and writing,' by Dr Hodgson,
 1868.

² V. 5579-82.

swelhem man liht dáz geschiht
 daz er sinn vriunt verlorn hát,
 daz er habe sô terschen rât
 daz er zehant var unde spil :
 wan tât er daz, des wær ze vil.
 er mac die bluomen lâzen sîn
 ein wile, deist der rât min :
 im stêt niht wol der bluomen kranz.

er sol ouch mîden gern den tanz,
 den buhurt und daz seitespil,
 daz ist daz ich râten wil.

That he to whom perchance it happens
 To lose his friend,
 Should be so foolishly advised
 As to go off straightways to sport :
 If he did so, it would be too much.
 He may leave flowers alone
 Awhile, that is my advice :
 The wreath of flowers sits not well
 upon him.

Let him also avoid dancing,
 Tournaments and music,
 That is what I wish to counsel.¹

MEDICAL PRACTICE.

Ein arzât der wol erzen kan,
 der erzent dicke einn siechen man
 mit durst, mit hunger und mit prant.

er bint in ûf zuo einer want,
 er snidet und stichet in vil hart.

eim andern rouft er sînen bart
 und sîn hâr, wan er wil
 daz er niht enslâf ze vil.

A physician who can cure well,
 He cures vigorously a sick man
 With thirst, with hunger, and with
 burning.

He ties him up against a wall,
 He cuts and pricks him a very great
 deal.

He tears another's beard
 And hair when he desires
 Him not to sleep too much.²

SWEET SIN.

Ez ist ein krût des enkan ich niht
 genennen tiusche, swenn daz geschiht
 daz sîn ein schâf izzt, ez ist tôt,
 und ist dem schâf doch harte nôt
 nâch dem selben krût : sîn suoz
 machet daz ez sterben muoz.
 al daz selbe uns geschiht :

There is a shrub that I cannot
 Name in German, if it happen
 That a sheep eat of it, she dies.
 And yet that sheep has a great longing
 After that same shrub : its sweetness
 Is the cause of her death.
 Just so it happens to us.³

ON MODERATION IN BLAZONRY.

If one, having in his shield
 Roses, would also 10425

Take the very flowers from the fields
 Into his shield,⁴

That would seem to me extravagant.

The same I will tell you 10430

Of one, who having in his shield the sun,

Should bethink himself of having also

The stars, and moreover the moon

And the sky, it would be strange :

It would, whatever he might urge, be quite over-much.⁵ 10435

¹ V. 5591-605.² V. 5089-96.³ V. 14087-93.

⁴ N.B. *Crest* is not the word. It really refers to the ornament on the helmet. What is meant here, is the ornament in the *shield* itself, not in the imitation of it with which heraldry deals.

⁵ Those who are familiar with modern Austrian dialects, may be amused

Truly I will tell you
 What one sees in a man's exterior
 Is not without significance,
 Since it points at all times
 To that which is within. 10440
 By one's weapons and by one's dress
 One's heart is greatly known.
 I will tell you, if a man
 Can with uprightness and gentleness bring it about
 That one cares more for him 10445
 Than for his weapons and arms, that is good.
 As to what he has in his shield,
 If he is upright in the field,
 I care for it the more,
 You may believe me in that. 10450
 Yet shall one have measure in these things :
 It would seem to me not well done,
 If a man were to have the sea-dogs (?) ¹
 And would therefore paint
 On his weapons the monsters of the sea, 10455
 And the fishes below.
 If one bears a boar
 On his shield, let him guard
 Against having a swine-herd,
 For that would look ill, that is true. 10460
 He who wants to bear a dog,
 Let him not embellish the matter
 So as to bring in the very hunt :
 Let not his work be such.
 If one were to bear a wolf, 10465
 How would it look if he wished
 To have in his field
 The she-wolf and the whelps ?
 One cannot praise it
 In him to whom such a thing happens. 10470

OF A JUDGE WHO DOES NOT ENJOY SUFFICIENT AUTHORITY.

Should there be a lord who has not
 That power in his judgment seat
 Which he justly ought to have
 If people were (properly) submissive to him, 12870

in finding here a very characteristic expletive, difficult of translation in all cases, and which we hardly would have expected to meet with in grave Thomasin :

sîn waere *halt* gar ze vil.

¹ The passage is doubtful : the MSS. vary. The word may refer to something like those waving lines which, on Sicilian coins, indicate the sea.

Let him do like the eagle,
 That ye may truly believe.
 When the eagle has come to be aged
 He flies then so high
 That the sun sets on fire 12875
 His wings, that is true ;
 Then he leaves the sun,
 And lets himself fall down into a well,
 And thus renews himself,
 That he becomes new, whole and gladsome. 12880
 Thus a lord ought to act :
 If he cannot well control
 His people and lands,
 Let him raise himself at once
 Towards God with humility, 12885
 With prayer, and with kindness,
 That He may help him to judge well,
 And so do that which he is to do.
 When he has done so,
 Then he is to let himself down 12890
 To his work, and at once
 Justly judge his land.
 Let him not be out of spirits
 For what people may say or do to him,
 For all that will be well disposed of, 12895
 If he has that piety and gentleness
 That he desires
 To accomplish his duty.

If this extract gives a curious instance of free handling of the ancient mythological tradition of the phoenix, the following may show in what manner our author treats a bit of the historical legends of antiquity :

OMNIA MEA MECUM PORTO.

Ein stat gevangen wart
 von ir vînden, dô vluchen hart
 die man in der stat vant :
 si truogen phennunge unde gewant.
 dô was ein man under in,
 der het den wistuom unde den sin
 daz er niht wolde tragen :
 die andern vuoren gar geladen.
 einer vreite in zwîu er tæte daz.
 dô antwurte er im baz
 danner vrâgte : er sprach 'mîn muot
 treit mîn phenninge und mîn guot.'
 er meinte sine tugent dermîte,

A town was captured
 By her enemies, then fled hastily
 Those that were found in the town :
 They bore money and dresses.
 There was a man among them
 Who had the wisdom and the sence
 Not to wish to bear (away) anything :
 The others were heavily laden.
 Some one asked him why he did so.
 Then he answered him well
 His question : he said, ' My spirit
 Is my money and my goods.'
 He meant thereby his virtue,

sinen wistuom und sin schoene site :	His wisdom, and his fair manners.
daz was doch ir aller spot.	Yet that was (an object of) mockery to all of them.
dô reit nâch des herren bot	Then rode after them men sent by the lord
der die stat hete behert	Who had besieged the town,
und viengens alle an der vert,	And they caught them all on their way,
wan si wârû geladen hart.	Since they were heavily laden.
der ein der niht truoc an der vart,	The one who bore nothing on his road
der was ringe und kom wol hin,	He was light of foot, and got well off.
wan wistuom, tugende unde sin	Thus wisdom, virtue, and sense
mûezen ze jungest brechen vûr,	Must at the end break forth
swie lange si sîn vor der tûr.	However long they be before the door. ¹

We must forbear the temptation to quote a fable of the Ass and the Wolf, very prettily told at some length and with great amplitude of moralities annexed : our readers will perhaps, by this time, care sufficiently for their Thomasin, to look it out in Max Müller's ‘German Classics,’ page 207-11, where a translation into modern German is given. And we conclude with this characteristic Dialogue, mentioned above, between the Author and his Pen.

DIALOGUE BETWEEN THE AUTHOR AND HIS PEN.

“ Let me rest, since it is time,”	12223
Speaks my pen ; “ he who never gives	
To his own servant	12225
Rest, he greatly wrongs him.	
So have I—this is true—	
Served you this whole winter,	
That you never allowed me to remain (still) :	
I had to write day and night.	12230
You have quite slit my mouth,	
Since for more than ten hours	
A day you used to mend ² and cut me.	
How could I suffer that so long ?	
You cut me now large now small,	12235
And have made me common	
By writing about masters and servants.	
You do me great wrong.	
When you used to keep up good manners	

¹ V. 6817-40.

² *Tempern. Il temperino* = the penknife.—Müller and Zarneke, T. iii. p. 29, certainly give the word in several other passages from other writers, and other words derived from the same root, but in all of them it has the meaning of *properly mixing*, and the like ; none remind us, as our passage does, of the tempering of steel. Here we have one of the few instances in which the expression betrays our author's Italian origin.

I very much liked to be with you. 12240
 When you with knights and ladies
 Used to attend tournaments and dances,
 Then I liked exceedingly to be near you :
 When you—believe me that ¹—
 Would be at court 12245
 Amongst the people, then was my
 Belief that I was better
 By you than elsewhere ; but you know
 Now you have discontinued (all) that,
 And have given up that (sort of) thing, 12250
 And thrown yourself quite backwards.
 I have gained nothing by that,
 Since I must write all day long :
 Know that I won't stand it.
 You have become a hermit. 12255
 Whilst you were at College,
 You did not give me so much trouble.
 Your door is (now) barred all day :
 Say on, what has happened to you ?
 You have no wish to see ladies or knights. 12260
 I am troubled beyond measure by your light,
 Which you burn all night long.
 If you mean in one year
 To write and eke put into verse
 What you have in you to write, 12265
 I have no wish to remain with you.
 He who gives himself up to poetry
 Must become quite undone,
 Seeing he altogether loses himself
 With thoughts, that is true." 12270

To which remonstrance the Pen receives this answer :

" Leave your complaint, complain not so much,
 And hear what I will tell you.
 If I had taken to poetry
 From a desire to kill time, I should not have got
 In four years to where I am, 12275
 Unless I am much mistaken
 You know well that I speak truth.
 In eight months have I quite
 Finished the eight parts
 (Not without much night-watching on your side also), 12280
 And I am to make two more of them :
 So you must do still two months' watching.
 With that, observe that my poetizing

¹ This line is obscure in the original.

Is no amusement to me at all.	
I might get out of it something like five years	12285
Of amusement, that is true,	
If I had taken to it for amusement.	
As it is, I have taken it up	
From necessity, as I see well	
That people never do as they ought.	12290
Therefore have I put aside	
What I otherwise should have done,	
As I must absolutely speak out	
What to be silent about troubled me much,	
You say that he becomes undone	12295
Who gives himself to poetry :	
If people had not in olden times	
Been thus undone, there	
Would not have been so many good men	
As we read of in books.	12300
And we should now be quite undone	
If we did not find written that	
Wherein a man may take a model and meaning.	
I have become aware of one thing,	
That one gets quite lost in thought	12305
Whilst one poetizes, that is true,	
So that one can hardly bear oneself properly	
Whilst one is thinking much of it.	
But when it has all come out	
And one has in good time returned to oneself,	12310
One may yet bear oneself better	
Than one did before, know you that.	
If my door is barred for a while,	
That must not disturb (you) too much,	
Since in a (secluded) corner one must	12315
Make a foot for a poem,	
That in aftertimes it may run	
In the wide, wide world.	
I am exceedingly desirous of seeing	
Both knights and ladies,	12320
Yet methinks it is well done	
That I should miss their company for a while,	
In the words that I speak	
(And) that are to be for the good of both.	
He has not good counsel	12325
Who, having served much and well,	
Would for the sake of one small service,	
Lose what he has served for well.	
Thus I speak for your sake :	
You have with your service gained me ;	12330

But if now you will leave me,
 Then what you have done is lost.
 I have of Unsteadiness,
 With your help, said much,
 (Also) of Steadiness and Measure; 12335
 Wild-conduct (lit. Unmeasure) I do not overlook,
 Since of it I have also said
 That she is the sister of Unsteadiness.
 Steadiness and Measure are sisters,
 They are children of one virtue. 12340
 Right is the brother of the twain,
 And of him I am now
 To say willingly and to write well
 What I have to say of him.—
 And thou Right, write in my heart about right, 12345
 That in my utterance of it it become not wrong.
 Thou indeed writest not with ink;
 But everything will be worthless
 That I may write with ink,
 Unless it be that Thou seest to it all the day long." 12350

In looking out for other books of about the same period, and treating of kindred subjects, we find the *Advice of a Father to his Son by* (the knight of) *Winsbeke*, to which is added the answer of the son. The date is not ascertainable, further than that the language assigns it to the 13th century, and that an allusion to Wolfram's *Percival*, which was written between 1205 and 1215, shows it to be later than this poem, and consequently later than our *Thomasin*. Like that greater author, *Winsbeke* deals little in the externals of ceremony, much less than the writers of similar English performances in this volume and in the *Babees Book*. Another hand has added *Advise of the Lady of Winsbeke* (die *Winsbekin*) *to her Daughter*.

Both books, of much smaller extent than *Thomasin*, were edited by Haupt, in 1845.¹ They are divided into stanzas, and the metre is rather more lively than *Thomasin's*.

We quote a few passages from the

ADVICE OF THE FATHER.

Sun, swer bi dir ein mære sage,
 mit worten imz niht widersprich :

Son, if any one in your house tell a tale,
 Do not contradict him in terms :

¹ Moritz Haupt. *Der Winsbeke und die Winsbekin*. Mit Anmerkungen, Leipzig. Weidmann, 1845 (Br. Mus.).

und swer dir sinen kumber klage	And if some one makes plaint to you of his grief
in schame, des erbarme dich :	With a feeling of shame, have pity on him.
der milte got erbarmet sich über alle die erbärmic sint.	Gentle God has pity On all those who are pitying.
den wiben allen schöne sprich :	To all the ladies speak courteously (beautifully):
ist undr in einiu sælden vrî, dâ wider sint tûsent oder mê	If there is among them one too free, There are, as a set off, a thousand and more
den tugent und ère wonet bî. ¹ Sun, du solt kiuscher worte sên	In whom dwell virtue and honour. Son, thou shalt use choice (chaste) words
und stætes muotes : tuost du daz sô habe ez ûf die triuwe mîn, du lebst in èren desten baz, trac niemen nît nach langen haz,	And be of steady spirit : if thou dost so Thou may'st believe on my faith Thou shalt live in honour all the more. Do not long bear hatred against any- one,
wes gên den vînden wol gemuot, den friunden niht mit dienste laz, dâ bî in zûhten wol gezogen,	Be of good spirit towards thy enemies, Do not grow tired of serving thy friends, Be at the same time like one well brought up in Good-Breeding,
und grûeze den du grûezen solt, sô has dich sælde niht betrogen.	And salute him whom it is right for thee to salute, Then thou wilt be rarely disappointed. ²

That late Latin author who justly, or by a mistake, has been called Dionysius Cato, and who, according to one who has specially inquired into the matter, may have lived in the fourth century after Christ, left to our ancestors a favourite reading book, in his *Sententiæ*, or collection of maxims on life. A very early prose translation was made of them by Notker in the 10th century (d. 1022). Many translations, extensions, adaptations followed, each writer altering or adding to the ground-work as, in his desire for the moralization of the world, appeared fit to him. Of such a "German Cato," which seems not to be later than the middle of the 13th century, we throw together a few extracts, bearing, to some extent, on the subject of courtesy.³

121 Wis ob dinem tische vrô :
an vrômden stat tuo niht alsô.

121 Be joyful at your own table :
At that of a stranger it is not
equally fitting.⁴

¹ Stanza 10.

² Stanza 39.

³ Fr. Zarncke, *Der deutsche Cato. Geschichte der deutschen Uebersetzungen der im Mittelalter unter dem Namen Cato bekannten Distichen bis zur Verdrängung derselben durch die Uebersetzung Seb. Brant's am Ende des 15 Jahrhunderts.*—Leipzig, G. Wigand, 1852. (In the Brit. Mus.)

⁴ Compare the injunction in the *Babes Book*, II. 26/29, 'to talk morosely'

- bî vrömdes wirtes brote
hüet dîner rede genôte ;
- 125 merke waz der wirt tuo
ant swic du alle zit dar zuo.
- sô der wirt iht vräge dich,
sô antwurt im unde sprich.
Swigen ist in grôziu tugent
beide an alter und an jugent.
- 130 Vlinch niunære,
wis niht im sagære :
swigen schadet keinen tac,
klaffen wol geschaden mac.
- 140 Enruoche waz din wîp sage,
sô si von den knechten klage :
- wîp hazzent dicke einen Man
dem der wirt wol gustes gan.
- 145 Manestu dînen vriunt ze vil
des er dir niht volgen wil,
- ist er dir liep, swier denne tuot,
- sô mane in doch, ob ez sî guot.
- 213 mit dienste manievalden
sol man den vriunt behalden.
- 265 Gedenke niht deheine vrist
des zornes des vergezzen ist.
- 515 Du solt der knechte schönen
die dir dienen durch lôn ;
gedenke daz ir einer ist
ein mensche als du selbe bist.
- When taking the bread of a
stranger host,
Guard your speech.
- 125 Mark what the host does,
And be you silent about it at all
times.
- If the host ask you anything,
Answer him and speak.
To be silent is a great virtue,
Both in old age and in youth.
- 130 Flee from slander,
Be no tale-bearer :
To be silent, harms not any day,
Yelping may indeed do harm.
- 140 Inquire what thy wife says,
If she complains about the
servants :
- Wives greatly hate a man
To whom the master of the house
is favourable.
- 145 If you exhort your friend too much
So that he is not inclined to
follow you,
(Yet) if he is dear to you, what-
ever he do,
- Still exhort him, it may be good.
- 213 By services of all kind
You shall retain your friend.
- 265 Never think at any time
Of the anger which has been for-
gotten.
- 515 You shall spare the servants
Who serve you for wages ;
Think that each of them is
A human being, as you are your-
self.

These editions and amplifications of Dionysius Cato, into which later authors freely introduced passages from Thomasin and from the *Fridauc*,¹ lead us to a metrical performance by a writer calling himself the *Tannhäuser*,² and whom Gervinus considers the originator of such rules of table-discipline as have been inserted into the *Cato*. This opinion loses somewhat of its probability if we compare the *Tannhäuser's* work with the similar ones in English, French, and especially in Latin, with which the *Babees Book* has made us ac-

always, except at table when you are told to be jocose ; here then doctors of courtesy differ.

¹ Gervinus, vol. ii. p. 428.

² Or *Tanhauser*, *Tanhäuser*, *Tannawser*, *Tanhäsacre*, *Tannhuser*.

quainted, and with Mr Rossetti's Italian text in the present volume. The text of Tannhäuser was published by Haupt from a MS. preserved at Vienna,¹ of the year 1395. It does not seem possible to assign an exact date to the poem; the language is, however, slightly more modern than that of Thomasin,² and the passage v. 217-20—see it below, with the original in the note—offers so striking a coincidence with one occurring in a poem by Trimberg (1260-1309), that we may fairly consider it to be written in reference to it, and to place our Tannhäuser at about the end of the 13th century.³

We are here in contact with a man of much slighter calibre than Thomasin, and are rather surprised on finding the line (257),

‘Who never suffered, never did enjoy.’

On the whole, beyond the usual pious exordium and peroration, and some care for one's health, we find the author entirely concerned with externals, in which a touch, here and there, differs from the parallel productions just mentioned. We let our author speak :

COURTLY BREEDING BY TANNHAEUSER.

He appears to me to be a well-bred man, Who can appreciate all courtliness, Who never fell into habits of ill-breeding	And he who gives Good Breeding its due
And whose manners never departed from him. 4	Has preserved himself from acting badly; 15
There are many rules of Good Breeding, And they are useful for many things; Know ye now that he who will follow them,	Him God makes right high-minded. Therefore I advise my friends that They hate the essence of Ill Breeding. He who never forgot his rules of courtesy,
He will very rarely do amiss. 8	How rarely had he ever to blush! 20
These are maxims of great courtesy Which a noble man shall keep, And they treat of many a bad habit	At meals you shall speak as soon As ye have sat down : ¹
Which may be known thereby. 12	‘May Jesus Christ bless us.’
Courtesy surely is good for people,	Think ye of God at all times. 24
	When you eat, be exhorted Not to forget the poor, ⁵ So shall you be well known by God,

¹ Zeitschrift für deutsches Alterthum, herausgegeben von Moriz Haupt. Bd. VI. p. 488-96.

² This, after all, proves little, seeing how readily, in the middle ages, the copyists adapted the words of an original to the dialectic forms to which they were accustomed.

³ About the middle of the 13th century there lived a poet, of the name of Tanhaeuser, who appears as a contemporary of Pope Urban IV. (1264-68). He may be identical with our author.

⁴ Mark, not standing, as we moderns should think it more right.

⁵ See above, in Mr Rossetti's Essay, p. 15.

If good is done by you.	28	And smaeks like a Bavarian,
Be mindful of the great need		How much does he renounce Good
Of orphans, wherein they are :		Breeding. 64
Give them, ¹ through God, your bread,		He who wishes both to speak and
So you shall free yourself from hell.		eat,
No two noble men shall	33	To do the two kinds of work at the
Use the same spoon in eating their		same time,
broth : ²		And to speak in his sleep,
That is well befitting for courteous		He can but very rarely rest well. 68
people,		During meal, leave disputing alone
For very unknighly things happen.		Whilst you eat, as some do :
To drink out of the dish befits no one,		Think on that, oh my friends,
Though many a one praise such bad		That never were there such ill-befitting
manners,	38	manners. 72
Who takes it very wrongfully,		The man who puts the loaf against his
And pours down (the broth) like an		body,
enraged man ;	
And him who leans over the dish		And cuts as a sick woman may do 75
Whilst he eats, like a pig,	42
And, in a very uncleanly manner,		And if a little dish is brought in
snorts		With sauce when you go to dine,
And smaeks with his mouth.		You must not put into it
Some people bite off pieces of bread		Your bare hand, that befits ill. 80
And thrust it (the remainder) back		It appears to me a very bad action,
into the dish,	46	In whomsoever I see this pecc of ill-
According to boorish manners :		breeding,
Such ill Breeding courteous people		If a man has got in his mouth some-
give up.		thing to eat,
Some people are inclined,		And the while drinks like a beast. 84
When they have gnawed a bone,	50	Some people blow into their drink ;
To put it back again into the dish :		Many a one likes to do so as a regular
That you have to consider as acting		thing :
greatly amiss.		It is very uncertain whether you will
Those who like to eat mustard and		be thanked for doing so ;
saucers,		Such ill-breeding one ought to be
Let them be very careful	54	without. ⁵ 88
To forbear being dirty,		Some people look over their beakers
And not to push their fingers into		Whilst they drink ; that does not be-
them.		fit well :
He who belches when he is to eat		Have not such people as cavaliers
And blows his nose into the table-cloth,		Where you are to have the best. 92
Both these things are not befitting, ³		Before you drink, wipe your mouth,
As far as I can understand.	60	Lest you dirty the drink with fatty
He who grunts (snouts), like a		matter :
waterbadger, ⁴		Courtly manner befits well at all mo-
Whilst he eats, as some are accusom-		ments,
ed to do,		And is a courtly of thinking. 96

¹ An additional touch, not contained in the Italian parallel poem.

² Same remark.

³ Vide Mr Rossetti's Essay, p. 23, and note.

⁴ The compound word not to be found : about the parts there is no doubt, but I know not what animal is meant. An otter? or beaver?

⁵ In potum tuum sufflare nolito. *Babees Book*, II. 28/29.

Between the courses a man may
Well drink, if need impels him,
(And) if he can have the drink ;
Not all people like it. 100

He who puts his finger on the knife
Whilst he cuts, as a skinner¹ does,
How rarely does such a man stir
When one conquers over heathens!

And those who loll on the table
Whilst they eat,—which does not befit
well—

How rarely they shake their helmets
When one is called upon to serve the
Ladies! 108

Again, you must not scratch your
throat,

Whilst you eat, with the bare hand :
But if it happen (that you cannot help
scratching)

Then courteously take a portion of
your dress, 112

And scratch with that : that is more
befitting.

Than that your skin should become
dirtied,

The lookers-on observe it
(In him) who does not refrain from
such ill manners. 116

You are not to clean your teeth
With knives, as some do,

And as still happens here and there :
He who does so, it is not good. 120

He who likes to eat with spoons,
And cannot manage to lift the food
with them,

Let him forbear from the dirty way
Of shoving it on them with his fingers.

He who whilst at table, takes it into
his head 125

To let out his girdle,
He may for a long while wait for me,

He is an odd fish, and not sound to the
back-bone.²

He who blows his nose at table
And rubs it with his hand, 130

He is a disgraceful fellow, if I under-
stand it well ;

He is not aware of better breeding.

If it happen that one must
Place some little dish between (several
guests),

Ye would be wanting in all good
breeding

If ye were to put your hands in all at
the same time. 136

He who means to eat with bread
(steeping it into the broth)

Whilst another eats with him,
Let him well guard against that,
If he has got the least virtue.³ 140

I hear it said of some
(If it is true, it is ill-befitting)

That they eat without having washed
themselves :

May their joints grow lame ! 144

Some are so over-joyous,
They eat, as it appears to me,
Without being aware of the where-
abouts of their mouths

And bite their own fingers, 148

And their tongue, so I hear it said.⁴

To whom will he complain of the
damage.

152

Now take good care of your manners :
If your companion at table wishes to
drink,

You must not be eating the while :
That is courteous and well-befitting.

He who takes matter from his nose
And from his eyes, as some do,

¹ The 'skinner' makes his appearance here somewhat unexpectedly ; but very likely he may be thought of as connected with the knacker, and the latter's business was ordinarily combined with the functions of the executioner, —of whom courtesy and fighting the heathen could certainly not be expected.

² er ist niht visch unz an den grât,—*bis auf die Gräten, nicht ganz was er sein soll*—not a fish to the backbone.

³ Perhaps this translation is rather forced. The original is obscure, and some line or lines may be lost.

⁴ *hoeve ich*, which is repeated below, is, at present, a frequent expletive among the Germans of Bohemia: this observation, were it strengthened by others, might allow a guess at the home of the author.

To clean one's ears is not seemly		He must be called a fool.	184
Whilst he eats, these three things are not good.	160	He who, without being thirsty, will drink a great deal,	
It is rarely, (nay) never good,		He draws near to death ;	
If one means to eat in company,		And (he who), without being hungry,	
To wrong Moderation		will eat a great deal,	
With overeating ; it is not befitting.		He won't live long, methinks.	188
Towards night no one ought to eat much	165	On the other hand, if one shoves little into his mouth,	
Who has eaten well in the morning ;		When great hunger oppresses him,	
He who will greatly over-feed himself,		He becomes very rarely quite well ;	
His boiled meat will rarely do him good.	168	In the long run he fares like the other.	
Of overeating comes gout		Many people have died of hunger,	
And other disease, I hear it affirmed :		And such things still happen.	194
By gluttony many sins are done,		Of thirst many suffer,	
By drinking much wickedness has been done.	172	Who yet do not die of thirst.	
Hunger is truly better		God bless our drink ;	
Than to eat too much meat :		He who never had beginning	198
It is preferable that a man should hunger		And never can come to an end,	
Unless he wants to become an invalid.		May cause the drink to be salutary to us.	
Of overeating comes much trouble		Hereof spake Sir Frîdane,	
For Carnival-time and at Easter- tide :	178	(Saying) good wine is the best drink :	
Many thousands have died of eating		His view follows Tannhäuser :	
Which has ruined their stomachs.		Yet a good many heathens won't believe it.	204
He therefore who spoils his bread with sauces, ¹		Hot dishes	
That he may change his dress into drink,		You ought to avoid, if ye be wise,	
And consequently gets into great trouble,		However great hunger you may have :	
		Such food injures many a one.	
		The household is quite desecrated	
		Where food is not properly attended to ;	
		It cannot be called a household.	
		If there is neither bread nor drink.*	

¹ Persicos, odi, puer apparatus.—*Hor.*

² I give the original of a few lines here, as a specimen of Tannhäuser's language :

swer machet eine hôchzît,		ê daz si komen zuo ir tagen	
swie manige tracht man gît,		den kinden sol manz niht versagen.	
dâ mac kein wirtschafft sîn,		swer alle zuht behalten kan	
da ensi guot brôt unde wîn.		und lât die unzuht under wegen,	230
swâ man des schâchzabels gert		der wirt vor gote ein lieber man,	
und swa manz von hunger mert,*		mac ers an sînen tût geplegen.	
dâ mac kurzwile gevalen niht		swer alle zuht kan bewarn	
und ist diu wirtschafft gar enwilt.	220	und volget nâch der zûhte wol,	
diu lazheit reizet manegen man		des sêle mac vil wol gevarn,	235
daz er guotes niht enkan :		sô der lîp sterben sol.	
daz wirt ein ewiger tût		vloru wirt kein wol gezogen man,	
und bringet manege sêle in nôt.		kein ungezogen man der kan	
nu lât in die zuht behagen	225	ze himelriche nimmer komen,	
.		alsô hân ich vernomen.	240

* Obscure line of which we attempt no translation. Even the learned German editor gives it up, declaring : 'diese Zeile ist mir nicht deutlich.'

No gross feeder ever becomes quite
wise; 213

That you may see by many a glutton.
No good sense has the wine-bibber
Who pays heed to nothing but his
belly.

Overmuch food and drunkenness,

He regrets it in his old age
And it makes many people stupid.
If one in his youth becomes a wine-
bibber, 221
And amidst gluttony comes to his old
age,
He gets by it a big belly,
But how little that does good to the
soul!

A man ought to bear good and evil,
And amidst it all live courteously,
And ought not to lose heart
If things do not at every moment do
according to his wish.

Who never suffered, never did
enjoy; ¹ 229

A pious man ought to bear everything,
Whatever fortune befall him,
Both the sweet and the bitter.

If a man gives a feast,
However many courses be given,
There can be no household 235
If there be no good bread and wine.
Where one plays with scanty bits
of bread, like chessmen ²

There can take place no enjoyment
And the household is quite desecrated.

Laziness attracts many a man
That he may not do good : 242
That becomes an everlasting death
And gets many a soul into trouble.
Now let Good-breeding please you.

Before they come to years
One shall not refuse it to the children.
He who can keep all Good-breeding
And leaves alone Ill-breeding, 250
He becomes dear in the eyes of God,
If he practises it (Good-breeding) to
his death.

He who can guard all Good-breeding
And well follows the rules of Courtesy,
His soul may fare exceedingly well,
Though the body is to die. 256

No well-educated man is lost.
No badly-brought-up man can
Ever come to Heaven,
So have I understood.
Tannhäuser has made
This discourse with some trouble. 262
It warns well against evil actions
Him who is not (*yet*) thoroughly as
he ought to be.

Here this good teaching cometh to an
end;
God from Ill-Breeding us forfend.
Amen.³

¹ Wer nie sein Brod mit Thraenen ass,
Wer nie die kummervollen Naechte,
Auf seinem Bette weinend sass,
Der kennt euch nicht, ihr himmlischen Maechte, &c.—*Goethe*.

² This passage is explained by one in the *Renner* of Hugo of Trimberg :

God, let me never sit there
Where they play chess with little bits of bread on the table.
If I should chance to get a King
Or a Castle, I might do well :
With pawns I could hardly satisfy my hunger.

Wackernagel refers this to the over careful arrangement of pieces of bread on the table of a miser. Wackernagel über d. Schachspiel in Mittelalter in *Krug und Weissenbach Beitr. zur Gesch. und Lit. Is. 28 flg.* Aarau, 1846.

³ der Tannh saere gemachet h t
die rede mit s mlicher r t,
ez l'ret wol f r misset t

der niht ist vizeh biz an den gr t.
Dise gut ler hat ain ende
Got an vns alle vnzucht wend. Amen.

NOTE ON

Le Ménagier de Paris,

1393-4 A.D.

BY F. J. FURNIVALL.

THE French *Contenances de la Table*, &c., printed in Part II of the *Babees Book*, are, perhaps, enough of an Early English Text to have devoted to early French Manners and Cookery; but the importance of the *Ménagier*, which I had seen, but not worked at all, when I edited the *Babees Book*, may excuse a page or two being given to it, after the elaborate treatment of Thomasin von Zirclaria which we have made room for. The following paragraph by me on the work was inserted in *The Athenæum* of July 24th, 1859, p. 118, col. 1, 2.

'*Le Ménagier de Paris*' [is] a treatise on morals and domestic economy, composed about the year 1393, by a wealthy Parisian, for the instruction of his young wife, and edited in 1847 by M. Pichon, for the Société des Bibliophiles Français. The book, though scarce, is still procurable, and is certainly no less valuable in its way, while it is even more curious, than its better-known fellow, '*The Book of the Knight of the Tour-Landry*,' wherein he wrote, in 1372, 'the Good Manners of Good Dames, and their Good Deeds,' to the end that his daughters might take example thereby. The '*Ménagier*' begins with the love of God and the salvation of the young wife's soul,—she is only fifteen,—ends with recipes for cooking sardines and young herrings, and embraces between these extremes the Whole Duty of Woman, as well the propriety of keeping her eyes on the ground as she walks about the town, as of ordering her servants to put their bed-candles out with their fingers or their mouths, and not with their shirts¹. Part of the wife's personal duty to the husband in winter, and in summer too, we must quote in the original²:—"Gardez en yver qu'il ait bon feu sans fumée; et entre vos mamelles [soit] bien couchié, bien couvert; et illec l'ensorcellez³ Et en

¹ ii. 71. ² i. 171. ³ Charme, inchaunt, bewitch, eye-bite. *Cotgrave*.

esté, gardez que en vostre chambre, ne en vostre lit, n'ait nulles puces ; ce que vous pouvez faire en six manières, si comme j'ay oy dire." And then follow the six methods for getting rid of these pestilent parasites. The book, to our surprise, notices the custom of servants using the word "sanglant" in their oaths : "de males *sanglantes* fièvres... de male *sanglante* journée."¹ We know no such early use of "bloody" in English, but may notice that some costermongers have lately substituted the participle "bleeding" for the adjective. "My bleeding barrow" is the latest phrase in vogue. The '*Ménagier*' contains a treatise on Hawking, a great many bills-of-fare for dinners, weddings, &c., and numerous recipes for dishes,—among which may be noticed one for Chaucer's blanchmanger (our 'Forme of Cury' has two); another for an English dish, "soubtil brouet d'Angleterre"²—chestnuts, eggs, pig's liver, and spices, boiled and strained; and another containing four ways of making the *ganfres*, since popular at penny-ice shops. The ginger "columbine," that puzzled Mr Furnivall in his 'Russell's Book of Nurture,' is explained to be an inferior kind of ginger, cheaper and worse than the darker-skinned whiter-insided "*gingembre mesche*," worth 20 sols a pound, while columbine costs only 11³.

But this sketch is a very incomplete one, as the reader will see from the title of the book, which is as follows :

"*Le Ménagier de Paris*, Traité de Morale et d'Économie Domestique, composé vers 1393 (A.D.) par un Bourgeois Parisien ; contenant *des préceptes moraux*, quelques fait historiques, des instructions sur *l'art de diriger une maison*, des renseignements sur *la consommation du Roi, des Princes, et de la ville de Paris*, à la fin du quatorzième siècle, des conseils sur *le jardinage* et sur *le choix des chevaux* ; un *traité de cuisine* fort étendu, et un autre non moins complet sur *la chasse à l'epervier* : ensemble, *L'histoire de Grisélidis, Mellibée et Prudence* par Albertan de Brescia (1246), traduit par frère Renault de Louens ; et *le chemin de Povreté et de Richesse*, poème composé, en 1342, par Jean Bruyant, notaire au Châtelet de Paris ; publié pour la première fois par *la Société des Bibliophiles Français*." Paris, 1846 (2 vols. 8vo., edited by M. Jérôme Pichon, President of the Society.)

The book well deserves translation into English, the moral parts being written in a loving, tender spirit, which speak well for the character of the old husband of near sixty, though he had married a

¹ ii. 59.² ii. 166.³ ii. 230.

young orphan-girl of 15 ; “seldom will you see ever so old a man who will not willingly marry a young woman” (i. 158). And though, as the reader will have seen, the old man has some regard for his creature and sexual comforts, yet he looks even more to his young wife’s second husband than himself, and more to her being as thoroughly mistress of her household for her own sake than for his. A sweet and loving wife, a sensible religious woman, and a finished housewife, would the good old bourgeois husband—a gentleman in spirit and station too—make of the young untrained girl whose life he had linked to his own.

The work is divided into three *Distinctions* or Parts, each with its *articles* or sections.

I. How to gain the love of God and the salvation of your soul.

1. Pray to God and the Virgin when you wake in the morning. (p. 9-15)
2. On choosing good companions, going to church, confession, &c. 15-16
3. Always love God and the Virgin ; with an abstract of a treatise on Repentance, Confession, the Seven Deadly Sins, and the Seven Virtues. 16-62
4. Live chastely, like Susanna, Lucretia, &c. 62-76
5. Love your husband (whether me or another) like Sarah, Rebekah, Rachel. 76-96
6. Be humble and obedient to your husband, like Grisild, &c. In the illustrative story, p. 158-165, a cure for a saucy wife is given : bleed her till she faints. 96-168
7. Be ‘curieuse’ and careful of his person (From this is the extract above, p. 149, 150. An interesting chapter) 168-177
8. Keep your husband’s secrets, and conceal his faults ; don’t talk scandal, exaggerate, as other women do, &c. 177-185
9. If your husband’s going to make a fool of himself like Melibeus, quietly stop him, as Prudence did 185-240

Part II. begins the second volume, and is of Managing the Household, gaining Friends, guarding against Mishaps and Old Age.

- § 1. Take care of, and pleasure in, your house (including the Poem of '*The Way of Poverty and Riches*,' by Jean Bruyant, 1342 A.D., p. 4-42) 1-42
- § 2. Of the flower- and kitchen-garden, &c. 43-53
- § 3. How to choose men-servants, women-servants, &c., and tradesmen; to teach servants to clean dresses, &c., to look after sheep, horses, &c., and to take care of and cure wines. (A good chapter) 53-79
- § 4. Of the Butchers and the consumption of Paris; cartes of divers dinners and suppers, and one wedding-breakfast of *Maistre Jean de Haute-court* (p. 118-123)¹ 80-124
- § 5. Recipes for all kinds of soups, sauces, joints, &c., for invalids as well as healthy people; with an Appendix of Recipes, by M. Pichon (p. 273-7) 125-277

Part III. Of this, unluckily, only the second section, the *Book of Hawking*, vol. ii, p. 279-326, exists in the MSS, says M. Pichon. The 1st section should have been on games of chance, dice, and (?) chess (*par rocs et par roys*). The 3rd section should have been of games by questions, which wanted reckoning and numbers to answer them, and were difficult to find out.

As a sample of the Recipes, Part II., § 5, here are two for cooking un-English French dishes, special to Johnny Crapaud:

FROGS.² To take them, have a line and a little fish-hook with a bait of flesh or of red cloth; and, having caught your frogs, cut them across through the body, near the thighs, and empty what you'll find in the arse³; and take the two thighs of the said frogs; cut off the feet; skin the said thighs all raw; then have cold water, and wash them; and if the thighs stop a night in cold water, they'll be so much the better and tenderer. And thus soaked, let them be washed in warm water, and then put in a towel, and wiped. The said thighs, thus washed and wiped, let them be besmeared with

¹ Compare 'A Feste for a Bryde,' *Babees Book*, p. 357.

² ii. 222-3.

³ *Col*: m. An arse, bumme, tayle, nockandroe, fundament. *Cotgrave*.

flour, that is, bemealed or floured¹ (*en farine touillées*, id est, *enfarinées*), and afterwards fried in oil, lard,² or other liquor, and be put in a dish, and powder [spice, &c.] on it.

SNAILS, which are called *escargols* (snails), should be caught in the morning. Take the young small snails, those that have black shells, from the vines or elder-trees; then wash them in so much water that they throw up no more scum; then wash them once in salt and vinegar, and set them to stew (*cuire*) in water. Then you must pick these snails out of the shell at the point of a pin or needle; and then you must take off their tail, which is black, for that is their turd; and then wash them, and put them to stew and boil in water; and then take them out, and put them in a plate or dish to be eaten with bread. And also some say that they are better fried in oil and onion, or other liquor, after they have been cooked as above said; and they are eaten with powder [spice, &c.] and are for rich people.

On this, M. Pichon comments: We find at the end of *The Shepherds' Calendar* (Paris, 1493, folio, fol. N vj), a very curious piece on the Snail, in which the writer says to it: 'Never does a Lombard eat thee in such sauce as we make for thee. We put thee in a big plate, with black pepper and onions.'³

Besides recipes for dishes, *Le Ménagier* contains others for making glue (ii. 250), marking-ink (ii. 263); for curing toothache (ii. 257), &c., &c., and one for curing the bite of a mad dog or other beast (ii. 259); an odd bit of gibberish:—"Take a crust of bread, and write what follows: † Bestera † bestie † nay † brigonay † dictera † sagragan † es † domina † fiat † fiat † fiat †."

This bare sketch does, of course, no kind of justice to the book, which is full of interest of all kinds to the Englishman as well as the Frenchman. Those members who can afford it, should buy it; and

¹ *Enfariné* . . Bemealed; whited or strewed over with meale. *Cotgrave*.

² *Sain*: m. Seame; the tallow, fat, or grease of a Hog, or of a rauenous wild beast. *ib.*

³ Onques Lombard ne te mangeat,
A telle saulce que [nous] ferons;
Si te mettrons en vug grant plat,
Au poyvre noir et aux ognons.

any one who wishes to pursue the subject farther should read Le Grand d'Aussy's *Histoire de la Vie Privée des Français, depuis l'origine de la Nation jusqu'à nos jours*, 3 vols. Paris, 1782; *Le Livre fort excellente de Cuisine*, Lyons, 1542, or its reprint, the *Grand Cuisinier de toutes Cuisines* (Paris, between 1566 and 1574) —the new edition of it by M. de la Villegille, preparing in 1846, has not been published;—the *Fleur de toute Cuisine . . revue et corrigée par Pierre Pidoue*, Paris, 1543; and M. Piehon's article on 'Guillaume Tirel, dit Taillevent . . écuyer de cuisine de Charles VI en 1386 . . dans le *Bulletin* du bibliophile de Techener, no. de juin 1843.'¹ M. Bachelin-Deflorenne says that 'of the many books of *Cuisinières Bourgeoises*, there is only one to be recommended, that by M. Hanffe, *Le Livre de Cuisine*, with 25 plates in chromolithography, and 161 vignettes engraved on wood, 1847, large 8vo, price about 50 francs.'

¹ *Le Ménagier*, p. xxxv-vi.

Abdeley's
Fraternitie of Vocabondes,
Harman's Caveat,
Haben's Sermon, &c.

Early English Text Society.

Extra Series. No. IX.

1869.

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The
Fraternitie of Vacabondes
BY JOHN AWDELEY

(LICENSED IN 1560-1, IMPRINTED THEN, AND IN 1565)

FROM THE EDITION OF 1575 IN THE BODLEIAN LIBRARY.

A Caneat or Warening for Common Cursetors
vulgarely called Vagabones

BY THOMAS HARMAN ESQUIRE,

FROM THE 3RD EDITION OF 1567, BELONGING TO HENRY HUTH, ESQ.

COLLATED WITH THE 2ND EDITION OF 1567 IN THE BODLEIAN
LIBRARY, OXFORD, AND WITH THE REPRINT OF THE
4TH EDITION OF 1573.

A Sermon in Praise of Thiebes and Thiebery

BY PARSON HABEN OR HYBERDYNE,

FROM THE LANSDOWNE MS. 98, AND COTTON VESP. A. 25.

THOSE PARTS OF

The Groundworke of Conny-catching (ed. 1592)

THAT DIFFER FROM *HARMAN'S CAVEAT*.

EDITED BY

EDWARD VILES & F. J. FURNIVALL.

LONDON:

PUBLISHED FOR THE EARLY ENGLISH TEXT SOCIETY,
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MDCCCLXIX.

Extra Series,

IX.

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PREFACE.

IF the ways and slang of Vagabonds and Beggars interested Martin Luther enough to make him write a preface to the *Liber Vagatorum*¹ in 1528, two of the ungodly may be excused for caring, in 1869, for the old Rogues of their English land, and for putting together three of the earliest tracts about them. Moreover, these tracts are part of the illustrative matter that we want round our great book on Elizabethan England, Harrison's *Description of Britain*, and the chief of them is quoted by the excellent parson who wrote that Look.

The first of these three tracts, Awdeley's *Fraternytie of Vagabondes*, has been treated by many hasty bibliographers, who can never have taken the trouble to read the first three leaves of Harman's book, as later than, and a mere pilfering from, Harman's *Caueat*. No such accusation, however, did Harman himself bring against the worthy printer-author (herein like printer-author Crowley, though he was preacher too,) who preceded him. In his Epistle dedicatory to the Countes of Shrewsbury, p. 20, below, Harman, after speaking of 'these wyly wanderers,' vagabonds, says in 1566 or 1567,

There was a *fewe yeares since* a small bréefe setforth of some zelous man to his countrey,—of whom I knowe not,—that made a lytle shewe of there names and vsage, and gaue a glynsinge lyghte, not sufficient to perswade of their penishe peltinge and pickinge practyses, but well worthy of prayse.

¹ *Liber Vagatorum: Der Betler Orden*: First printed about 1514. Its first section gives a special account of the several orders of the 'Fraternity of Vagabonds;' the 2nd, sundry *notabilia* relating to them; the 3rd consists of a 'Rotwelsche Vocabulary,' or 'Canting Dictionary.' See a long notice in the *Wiemarische Jahrbuch*, vol. 10; 1856. *Hotten's Slang Dictionary*: Bibliography.

This description of the 'small bréepe,' and the 'lytle shewe' of the 'names and vsage,' exactly suits Awdeley's tract; and the 'fewe yeares since' also suits the date of what may be safely assumed to be the first edition of the *Fraternitye*, by John Awdeley or John Sampson, or Sampson Awdeley,—for by all these names, says Mr Payne Collier, was our one man known:—

It may be disputed whether this printer's name were really Sampson, or Awdeley: he was made free of the Stationers' Company as Sampson, and so he is most frequently termed towards the commencement of the Register; but he certainly wrote and printed his name Awdeley or Awdelay; now and then it stands in the Register 'Sampson Awdeley.' It is the more important to settle the point, because . . . he was not only a printer, but a versifier,¹ and ought to have been included by Ritson in his *Bibliographica Poetica*. (Registers of the Stationers' Company, A.D. 1848, vol. i. p. 23.)

These verses of Awdeley's, or Sampson's, no doubt led to his 'small bréepe' being entered in the Stationers' Register as a 'ballett':

"1560-1. Rd. of John Sampson, for his lycense for pryntinge of a ballett called the description of vakaboundes iiij^d.

"[This entry seems to refer to an early edition of a very curious work, printed again by Sampson, alias Awdeley, in 1565, when it bore the following title, 'The fraternitie of vacabondes, as well of ruffling vacabones as of beggerly,² as well of women as of men,² and as well of gyrles as of boyes, with their proper names and qualities. Also the xxv. orders of knaves, otherwise called a quartten of knawes. Confirmed this yere by Cocke Lorel.' The edition without date mentioned by Dibdin (iv. 564) may have been that of the entry. Another impression by Awdeley, dated 1575 [which we reprint] is reviewed in the *British Bibliographer*, ii. 12, where it is asserted (as is very probable, though we are without distinct evidence of the fact) that the printer was the compiler of the book, and he certainly introduces it by three six-line stanzas. If this work came out originally in 1561, according to the entry, there is no doubt that it was the precursor of a very singular series of tracts on the same subject, which will be noticed in their proper places.]"—J. P. Collier, *Registers*, i. 42.

As above said, I take Harman's 'fewe yeares'—in 1566 or 7—to point to the 1561 edition of Awdeley, and not the 1565 ed. And as to Awdeley's authorship,—what can be more express than his own words,

¹ See the back of his title-page, p. 2, below.

² *as well* and *and as well* not in the title of the 1575 edition.

p. 2, below, that what the Vagabond caught at a Session confest as to 'both names and states of most and least of this their Vacabondes brotherhood,' *that*,—'at the request of a worshipful man, I ['The Printer,' that is, John Awdeley] have set it forth as well as I can.'

But if a doubt on Awdeley's priority to Harman exists in any reader's mind, let him consider this second reference by Harman to Awdeley (p. 60, below), not noticed by the bibliographers: "Foras-much as these two names, a Iarkeman and a Patrico, bée in *the old brieft of vacabonds*, and set forth as two kyndes of enil doers, you shall vnderstande that a Iarkeman hath his name of a *Iarke*, which is a seale in their Language, as one should make writings and set seales for lycences and pasporte," and then turn to Awdeley's *Fraternity of Vacabondes*, and there see, at page 5, below:

¶ A IACK MAN.

A Iackeman is he that can write and reade, and sometime speake latin. He vseth to make counterfaite licences which they call Gybes, and sets to Seales, in their language called *Iarkes*. (See also 'A Whipiacke,' p. 4.)

Let the reader then compare Harman's own description of a *Patrico*, p. 60, with that in 'the old *Briefe of Vacabonds*,' Awdeley, p. 6:

Awdeley.

Harman.

¶ A PATRIARKE Co.

there is a PATRICO . . .

A Patriarke Co doth make mariages, & that is vntill death depart the married folke.	whiche in their language is a priest, that should make mariages tyll death dyd depart.
---	--

And surely no doubt on the point will remain in his mind, though, if needed, a few more confirmations could be got, as

Awdeley (p. 4).

Harman (p. 44).

¶ A PALLIARD.

¶ A Pallyard.

A Palliard is he that goeth in a patched cloke, and hys Doxy goeth in like apparell.	These Palliardes . . go with patched clokes, and haue their Morts with them.
--	--

We may conclude, then, certainly, that Awdeley did not plagiarize Harman; and probably, that he first published his *Fraternity* in 1561. The tract is a mere sketch, as compared with Harman's *Cowat*, though in its descriptions (p. 6—11) of 'A Curtesy Man,'

'A Cheatour or Fingerer,' and 'A Ring-Faller' (one of whom tried his tricks on me in Gower-street about ten days ago), it gives as full a picture as Harman does of the general run of his characters. The edition of 1575 being the only one accessible to us, our trusty Oxford copier, Mr George Parker, has read the proofs with the copy in the Bodleian.

Let no one bring a charge of plagiarizing Awdeley, against Harman, for the latter, as has been shown, referred fairly to Awdeley's '*small breefe*' or '*old briefe of vacabonds*,' and wrote his own "*bolde Beggars booke*" (p. 91) from his own long experience with them.

Harman's *Caueat* is too well-known and widely valued a book to need description or eulogy here. It is *the* standard work on its subject,—'these rowsey, ragged, rabblement of rakehelles' (p. 19)—and has been largely plundered by divers literary cadgers. No copy of the first edition seems to be known to bibliographers. It was published in 1566 or 1567,—probably the latter year,¹—and must (I conclude) have contained less than the second, as in that's 'Harman to the Reader,' p. 28, below, he says 'well good reader, I meane not to be tedyous vnto the, but haue added fyue or sixe more tales, because some of them weare doune whyle my booke was fyrste in the presse.' He speaks again of his first edition at p. 44, below, 'I had the best geldinge stolen oute of my pasture, that I had amongst others, whyle this boke was *first a printynge*;' and also at p. 51, below, 'Apon Allhol enday in the morning last anno domini 1566, or my booke was halfe printed, I meane *the first impression*.' All Hallows' or All Saints' Day is November 1.

The edition called the second², also bearing date in 1567, is known to us in two states, the latter of which I have called the third edition. The first state of the second edition is shown by the Bodleian copy, which is 'Augmented and inlarged by the fyrst author here of,' and has, besides smaller differences specified in the footnotes in our pages, this great difference, that the arrangement of 'The Names of

¹ Compare the anecdote, p. 66, 68, 'the *last* sommer, Anno Domini, 1566.'

² 'now at this seconde Impression,' p. 27; 'Whyle this second Impression was in printinge,' p. 87.

the Vpright Men, Roges, and Pallyards' is not alphabetical, by the first letter of the Christian names, as in the second state of the second edition (which I call the third edition), but higgledy-piggledy, or, at least, without attention to the succession of initials either of Christian or Sur-names, thus, though in three columns :

¶ VPRIGHT MEN.

Richard Brymnysh.	Robert Gerse.
John Myllar.	Gryffen.
Wel arayd Richard.	Richard Barton.
John Walchman.	John Braye.
Wylliam Chamborne.	Thomas Cutter.
Bryan Medcalfe.	Dowzabell skylfull in fence.

[&c.]

¶ ROGES.

Harry Walles with the little mouth.	Lytle Robyn.
John Waren.	Lytle Dycke.
Richard Brewton.	Richard Iones.
Thomas Paske.	Lambart Rose.
George Belbarby.	Harry Mason.
Humfrey Warde.	Thomas Smithe with the skal skyn.

[&c.]

¶ PALLYARDS.

Nycholas Newton carieth a fayned	Edward Heyward, hath his Morte
lycence.	following hym Whiche fayneth
Bashforde.	y ^e crank.
Robert Lackley.	Preston.
Wylliam Thomas.	Robert Canloke.

[&c.]

This alone settles the priority of the Bodley edition, as no printer, having an index alphabetical, would go and muddle it all again, even for a lark. Moreover, the other collations confirm this priority. The colophon of the Bodley edition is dated A. D. 1567, 'the eight of January;' and therefore A. D. 1567-8.

The second state of the second edition—which state I call the third edition—is shown by the copy which Mr Henry Huth has, with his never-failing generosity, lent us to copy and print from. It omits 'the eight of January,' from the colophon, and has 'Anno Domini 1567' only. Like the 2nd edition (or 2 A), this 3rd edition (or 2 B) has the statement on p. 87, below: 'Whyle this second Im-

pression was in printinge, it fortuneth that Nycholas Blunte, who called hym selfe Nycholan Gennyns, a counterefet Cranke, that is spoken of in this booke, was fonde begging in the whyte fryers on Newe yeares day last past, Anno domini .1567, and commytted vnto a offescer, who caried hym vnto the depetye of the ward, which commytted hym vnto the counter ;' and this brings both the 2nd and 3rd editions (or 2 A and 2 B) to the year 1568, modern style. The 4th edition, so far as I know, was published in 1573, and was reprinted by Machell Stace (says Bohn's Lowndes) in 1814. From that reprint Mr W. M. Wood has made a collation of words, not letters, for us with the 3rd edition. The chief difference of the 4th edition is its extension of the story of the 'dyssembling Cranke,' Nycholas Genings, and 'the Printar of this booke' Wylliam Gryffith (p. 53-6, below), which extension is given in the footnotes to pages 56 and 57 of our edition. We were obliged to reprint this from Stace's reprint of 1814, as our searchers could not find a copy of the 4th edition of 1573 in either the British Museum, the Bodleian, or the Cambridge University Library.

Thus much about our present edition. I now hark back to the first, and the piracies of it or the later editions, mentioned in Mr J. P. Collier's *Registers of the Stationers' Company*, i. 155-6, 166.

"1566-7 Rd. of William Greffeth, for his lycense for printinge of a boke intituled a Caviat for commen Corsetors, vulgarly called Vagabons, by Thomas Harman iiij^a.

"[No edition of Harman's 'Caveat or Warning for common Cursetors,' of the date of 1566, is known, although it is erroneously mentioned in the introductory matter to the reprint in 1814, from H. Middleton's impression of 1573. It was the forerunner of various later works of the same kind, some of which were plundered from it without acknowledgment, and attributed to the celebrated Robert Greene. Copies of two editions in 1567, by Griffith, are extant, and, in all probability, it was the first time it appeared in print: Griffith entered it at Stationers' Hall, as above, in 1566, in order that he might publish it in 1567. Harman's work was preceded by several ballads relating to vagabonds, the earliest of which is entered on p. 42 [Awdeley, p. ii. above]. On a subsequent page (166) is inserted a curious entry regarding 'the boke of Rogges,' or Rogues.]

"1566-7. For Takyng of Fynes as foloweth. Rd. of Henry

Bynnyman, for his fyne for undermy[n]dinge and procuryng, as moche as in hym ded lye, a Coppye from wylliam greffeth, called the boke of Rogges iij^s.

“[This was certainly Harman's ‘Caveat or Warning for Common Cursetors’; and here we see Bynnemman fined for endeavouring to *undermine* Griffith by procuring the copy of the work, in order that Bynnemman might print and publish it instead of Griffith, his rival in business. The next item may show that Gerard Dewes had also printed the book, no doubt without license, but the memorandum was crossed out in the register.]

“Also, there doth remayne in the handes of Mr Tottle and Mr Gonneld, then wardens, the somme of iij^{li}. vij^s. viij^d., wherto was Recevyd of garrad dewes for pryntinge of the boke of Rogges in a^o 1567 ij^{li}. vj^s. viij^d.

“[All tends to prove the desire of stationers to obtain some share of the profits of a work, which, as we have already shown, was so well received, that Griffith published two editions of it in 1567.]”

The fact is, the book was so interesting that it made its readers thieves, as ‘Jack Sheppard’ has done in later days. The very wood-cutter cheated Harman of the hind legs of the horse on his title, prigged two of his prauncer's props (p. 42).

To know the keen inquiring Social Reformer, Thomas Harman, the reader must go to his book. He lived in the country (p. 34, foot), in [Crayford] Kent (p. 30, p. 35), near a heath (p. 35), near Lady Elizabeth Shrewsbury's parish (p. 19), not far from London (p. 30, p. 35); ‘he lodged at the White Friars within the cloister’ (p. 51), seemingly while he was having his book printed (p. 53), and had his servant there with him (*ib.*); ‘he knew London well’ (p. 54, &c.); and in Kent ‘beinge placed as a poore gentleman,’ he had in 1567, ‘kepte a house these twenty yeares, where vnto pouerty dayely hath and doth repayre,’ and where, being kept at home ‘through sickenes, he talked dayly with many of these wyly wanderars, as well men and wemmen, as boyes and gyrles,’ whose tricks he has so pleasantly set down for us. He did not, though, confine his intercourse with vagabonds to talking, for he says of some, p. 48,

¶ Some tyme they counterfet the seale of the Admiraltie. I haue diuers tymes taken a waye from them their lycences, of both sortes,

wyth suche money as they haue gathered, and haue confiscated the same to the pouerty nigh adioyninge to me. p. 51-6.

Our author also practically exposed these tricks, as witness his hunting out the Cranke, Nycholas Genings, and his securing the vagabond's 13s. and 4*l.* for the poor of Newington parish, p. 51-6; his making the deaf and dumb beggar hear and speak, p. 58-9 (and securing his money too for the poor). But he fed deserving beggars, see p. 66, p. 20.

Though Harman tells us 'Eloquence haue I none, I neuer was acqwaynted with the Muses, I neuer tasted of Helycon' (p. 27-8), yet he could write verses—though awfully bad ones: see them at pages 50 and 89-91, below, perhaps too at p. 26¹;—he knew Latin—see his comment on Cursetors and Vagabone, p. 27; his *una voce*, p. 43; perhaps his 'Argus eyes,' p. 54; his *omnia venalia Rome*, p. 60; his *homo*, p. 73; he quotes St Augustine (and the Bible), p. 24; &c.;—he studied the old Statutes of the Realm (p. 27); he liked proverbs (see the Index); he was once 'in commission of the peace,' as he says, and judged malefactors, p. 60, though he evidently was not a Justice when he wrote his book; he was a 'gentleman,' says Harrison (see p. xii. below); 'a Iustice of Peace in Kent,'² in Queene Marie's daies,' says Samuel Rowlands;³ he bore arms (of heraldry), and had them duly stamped on his pewter dishes (p. 35); he had at least one old 'tenant who customably a greate tyme went twice in the weeke to London, (over Blacke Heathe) eyther wyth fruite or with pescoddes' (p. 30); he hospitably asked his visitors to dinner (p. 45); he had horses in his pasture,⁴ the best gelding of which the Pryggers of Prauncers prigged (p. 44); he had an unchaste cow that went to bull every month (p. 67, if his ownership is not chaff here); he had in his 'well-house on the backe side of

¹ Mr J. P. Collier (*Bibliographical Catalogue*, i. 365) has little doubt that the verses at the back of the title-page of Harman's *Curcat* were part of "a ballad intituled a description of the nature of a birchen broom" entered at Stationers' Hall to William Griffith, the first printer of the *Curcat*.

² Cp. Kente, p. 37, 43, 48, 61, 63, 66, 68, 77, &c. Moreover, the way in which he, like a Norfolk or Suffolk man, speaks of *shires*, points to a liver in a non *-shire*.

³ In *Martin Mark-all, Beadle of Bridewell*, 1610, quoted below, at p. xvii.

⁴ Compare his 'ride to Dartforde to speake with a priest there,' p. 57.

his house, a great cawdron of copper' which the beggars stole (p. 34-5); he couldn't keep his linen on his hedges or in his rooms, or his pigs and poultry from the thieves (p. 21); he hated the 'rascal rabblement' of them (p. 21), and 'the wicked parsons that keepe typlinge Houses in all shires, where they haue succour and reliefe'; and, like a wise and practical man, he set himself to find out and expose all their 'vndecent, dolefull [guileful] dealing, and execrable exercyses' (p. 21) to the end that they might be stopt, and sin and wickedness might not so much abound, and thus 'this Famous Empyre be in more welth, and better florysh, to the inestymable joye and comfort' of his great Queen, Elizabeth, and the 'vnspeakable . . . reliefe and quietnes of minde, of all her faythfull Commons and Subiectes.' The right end, and the right way to it. We've some like you still, Thomas Harman, in our Victorian time. May their number grow!

Thus much about Harman we learn from his book and his literary contemporaries and successors. If we now turn to the historian of his county, Hasted, we find further interesting details about our author: 1, that he lived in Crayford parish, next to Erith, the Countess of Shrewsbury's parish; 2, that he inherited the estates of Ellam, and Maystreet, and the manor of Mayton or Maxton; 3, that he was the grandson of Henry Harman, Clerk of the Crown, who had for his arms 'Argent, a chevron between 3 scalps sable,' which were no doubt those stampt on our Thomas's pewter dishes; 4, that he had a 'descendant,'—a son, I presume—who inherited his lands, and three daughters, one of whom, Bridget, married Henry Binneman—?not the printer, about 1565-85 A.D., p. vi-vii, above.

Hasted in his description of the parish of Crayford, speaking of Ellam, a place in the parish, says:—

"In the 16th year of K. Henry VII. John Ellam alienated it (the seat of Ellam) to Henry Harman, who was then Clerk of the Crown,¹ and

¹ "John Harman, Esquier, one of the gentilmen hushers of the Chambré of our soverayn Lady the Quene, and the excellent Lady Dame Dorothy Gwydott, widow, late of the town of Southampton, married Dec. 21, 1557." (Extract from the register of the parish of Stratford Bow, given in p. 499, vol. iii. of Lysons's *Environs of London*.)

who likewise purchased an estate called Maystreet here, of Cowley and Bulbeck, of Bulbeck-street in this parish, in the 20th year of King Edward IV.¹ On his decease, William Harman, his son, possessed both these estates.² On his decease they descended to Thomas Harman, esq., his son ; who, among others, procured his lands to be disgavelled, by the act of the 2 & 3 Edw. VI.³ He married Millicent, one of the daughters of Nicholas Leigh, of Addington, in the county of Surry, esq.⁴ His descendant, William Harman, sold both these places in the reign of K. James I. to Robert Draper, esqr."—*History of Kent*, vol. i. p. 209.

The manor of Maxton, in the parish of Hougham "passed to Hobday, and thence to Harman, of Crayford ; from which name it was sold by Thomas Harman to Sir James Hales. . . . William Harman held the manor of Mayton, alias Maxton, with its appurtenances, of the Lord Cheney, as of his manor of Chilham, by Knight's service. Thomas Harman was his son and heir : Rot. Esch. 2 Edw. VI."—Hasted's *History of Kent*, vi. p. 47.

"It is laid down as a rule, that nothing but an act of parliament can change the nature of gavelkind lands ; and this has occasioned several [acts], for the purpose of disgavelling the possessions of divers gentlemen in this county. . . . One out of several statutes made for this purpose is the 3rd of Edw. VI."—Hasted's *History of Kent*, vol. i. p. cxliii.

And in the list of names given,—taken from Robinson's *Gavelkind*—twelfth from the bottom stands that of THOMAS HARMAN.

Of Thomas Harman's aunt, Mary, Mrs William Lovelace, we find : "John Lovelace, esq., and William Lovelace, his brother, possessed this manor and seat (Bayford-Castle) between them ; the latter of whom resided at Bayford, where he died in the 2nd year of K. Edward VI., leaving issue by Mary his wife, daughter of William Harman, of Crayford, seven sons. . . ."—Hasted's *History of Kent*, vol. ii. p. 612.

The rectory of the parish of Deal was bestowed by the Archbishop on Roger Harman in 1544 (*Hasted*, vol. iv. p. 171).

Harman-street is the name of a farm in the parish of Ash (*Hasted*, vol. iii. p. 691).

¹ Philipott, p. 108. Henry Harman bore for his arms—Argent, a chevron between 3 scalps sable.

² Of whose daughters, Mary married John, eldest son of Wm. Lovelace, of Hever in Kingsdown, in this county ; and Elizabeth married John Lennard, Prothonotary, and afterwards *Custos Brevium* of the Common Pleas. See Chevening.

³ See Robinson's *Gavelkind*, p. 300.

⁴ She was of consanguinity to Abp. Chicheley. *Stemm. Chich.* No. 106. Thomas Harman had three daughters : Anne, who married Wm. Draper, of Erith, and lies buried there ; Mary, who married Thomas Harrys ; and Bridget, who was the wife of Henry Binneman. *Ibid.*

The excellent parson, William Harrison, in his 'Description of England,' prefixed to Holinshed's Chronicles (edit. 1586), quotes Harman fairly enough in his chapter "Of prouision made for the poore," Book II, chap. 10.¹ And as he gives a statement of the sharp punishment enacted for idle rogues and vagabonds by the Statutes of Elizabeth, I take a long extract from his said chapter. After speaking of those who are made 'beggars through other mens occasion,' and denouncing the grasping landlords 'who make them so, and wipe manie out of their occupiengs,' Harrison goes on to those who are beggars 'through their owne default' (p. 183, last line of col. 1, ed. 1586):

"Such as are idle beggers through their owne default are of two sorts, and continue their estates either by casuall or meere voluntarie meanes: those that are such by casuall means ²are in the beginning ²iustlie to be referred either to the first or second sort of poore ²afore mentioned²; but, degenerating into the thriftlesse sort, they doo what they can to continue their miserie; and, with such impediments as they haue, to straie and wander about, as creatures abhorring all labour and euerie honest exercise. Certes, I call these casuall meanes, not in respect of the originall of their pouertie, but of the continuance of the same, from whence they will not be deliuered, such³ is their owne vngratious lewdnesse and froward disposition. The voluntarie meanes proceed from outward causes, as by making of cerosiues, and applieng the same to the more fleshie parts of their bodies; and also laieng of ratsbane, sperewort, crowfoot, and such like vnto their whole members, thereby to raise pitifull⁴ and odious sores, and mooue ²the harts of² the goers by such places where they lie, to ⁵yerne at⁵ their miserie, and therevpon ²bestow large almesse vpon them.⁶ How artificiallie they beg, what forcible speech, and how they select and choose out words of vehemencie, whereby they doo in maner coniure or adiure the goer by to pitie their cases, I passe ouer to remember, as iudging the name of God and Christ to be more conuersant in the mouths of none, and yet the presence of the heuenlie maiestie further off from no men than from this vngratious companie. Which maketh me to thinke, that punishment is farre meeter for them than liberalitie or almesse, and sith Christ willet vs cheeflie to haue a regard to himsele and his poore members.

"Vnto this nest is another sort to be referred, more sturdie than the rest, which, hauing sound and perfect lims, doo yet, notwithstanding

¹ In the first edition of Holinshed (1577) this chapter is the 5th in Book III. of Harrison's *Description*.

²⁻² Not in ed. 1577.

³ *thorow* in ed. 1577.

⁴ *piteous* in ed. 1577.

⁵⁻⁵ *lament* in ed. 1577.

⁶ The remainder of this paragraph is not in ed. 1577.

sometime counterfeit the possession of all sorts of diseases. Diverse times in their apparell also¹ they will be like serving men or laborers : oftentimes they can plaie the mariners, and seeke for ships which they neuer lost.² But, in fine, they are all theeues and caterpillers in the commonwealth, and, by the word of God not permitted to eat, sith they doo but lick the sweat from the true laborers' browes, *and* beereue the godlie poore of that which is due vnto them, to mainteine their excesse, consuming the charitie of well-disposed people bestowed vpon them, after a most wicked³ *and* detestable maner.

"It is not yet full threescore⁴ yeares since this trade began : but how it hath prospered since that time, it is easie to iudge ; for they are now supposed, of one sex and another, to amount vnto aboue 10,000 persons, as I haue heard reported. Moreouer, in counterfeiting the Egyptian roges, they haue deuised a language among themselues, which they name *Canting* (but other pedlers French)—a speach compact thirtie yeares since of English, and a great number of od words of their owne deuising, without all order or reason : and yet such is it as none but themselues are able to vnderstand. The first deuiser thereof was hanged by the necke,—a iust reward, no doubt, for his deserts, and a common end to all of that profession. A gentleman, also, of Thomas Harman. late hath taken great paines to search out the secret practises of this vngratious rabble. And among other things he setteth downe and describeth⁵ three *and* twentie⁵ sorts of them, whose names it shall not be amisse to remember, wherby ech one may⁶ take occasion to read and know as also by his industrie⁶ what wicked people they are, and what villanie remaineth in them.

"The generall disorders and degrees amongst our idle vagabonds :—

- | | |
|--------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 1. Rufflers. | 8. Fraters. |
| 2. Vpightmen. | 9. Abrams. |
| 3. Hookers or Anglers. | 10. Freshwater mariners, or Whip- |
| 4. Roges. | 11. Dummerers. [iacks. |
| 5. Wild Roges. | 12. Drunken tinkers. |
| 6. Priggers of Prancers. | 13. Swadders, or Pedlers. |
| 7. Palliards. | 14. Iarkemen, or Patricoes. |

Of Women kinde—

- | | |
|------------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 1. Demanders for glimmar, or fire. | 6. Doxes. |
| 2. Baudie Baskets. | 7. Delles. |
| 3. Mortes. | 8. Kinching Mortes. |
| 4. Antem mortes. | 9. Kinching cooes. ⁷ |
| 5. Walking mortes. | |

¹Not in ed. 1577.

² Compare *Harman*, p. 48.

³ The 1577 ed. inserts *horrible*.

⁴ The 1577 ed. reads *fifty*.

⁵⁻⁵ The 1577 ed. reads 22, which is evidently an error.

⁶⁻⁶ For these words the 1577 ed. reads *gather*.

⁷ The above list is taken from the titles of the chapters in Harman's *Caveat*.

" The punishment that is ordeined for this kind of people is verie sharpe, and yet it can not restraine them from their gadding : wherefore the end must needs be martiall law, to be exercised vpon them as vpon theeues, robbers, despisers of all lawes, and enimies to the common-wealth *and* welfare of the land. What notable roberies, pilferies, murders, rapes, and stealings of yoong¹ children, ²burning, breaking and disfiguring their lims to make them pitifull in the sight of the people,² I need not to rehearse ; but for their idle roging about the countrie, the law ordeineth this maner of correction. The roge being apprehended, committed to prison, and tried in the next assises (whether they be of gaole deliuerie or sessions of the peace) if he happen to be conuicted for a vagabond either by inquest of office, or the testimonie of two honest and credible witnesses vpon their oths, he is then immediatlie adiudged to be greuouslie whipped and burned through the gristle of the right eare, with an hot iron of the compasse of an inch about, as a manifestation of his wicked life, and due punishment receiued for the same. And this iudgement is to be executed vpon him, except some honest person worth fife pounds in the queene's books in goods, or twentie shillings in lands, or some rich housholder to be allowed by the iustices, will be bound in recognisance to reteine him in his seruice for one whole yeare. If he be taken the second time, and proued to haue forsaken his said seruice, he shall then be whipped againe, bored likewise through the other eare and set to seruice : from whence if he depart before a yeare be expired, and happen afterward to be attached againe, he is condemned to suffer paines of death as a fellow (except before excepted) without benefit of clergie or sanctuarie, as by the statute dooth appeare. Among roges and idle persons finallie, we find to be comprised all proctors that go vp and downe with counterfeit licences, coosiners, and such as gad about the countrie, vsing vnlawfull games, practisers of physiognomie, and palmestrie, tellers of fortunes, fensers, plaiers,³ minstrels, iugglers, pedlers, tinkers, pretended⁴ schollers, shipmen, prisoners gathering for fees, and others, so oft as they be taken without sufficient licence. From ⁵among which companie our bearewards are not excepted, and iust cause : for I haue read that they haue either voluntarilie, or for want of power to master their sauage beasts, beene occasion of the death and deuoration of manie children in sundrie countries by which they haue passed, whose parents neuer knew what was become of them. And for that cause there is *and* haue beene manie sharpe lawes made for bearwards in Germanie, wherof you may read in other. But to our roges.⁵ Each one also that harboreth or aideth them with meat or monie, is taxed and compelled to fine with the queene's maiestie for euerie time that he dooth so succour them, as it

¹ Not in the 1577 ed.

²⁻² These words are substituted for *which they disfigure to begg nithal* in the 1577 ed.

³ The 1577 ed. inserts *bearwards*.

⁴ Not in 1577 ed.

⁵⁻⁵ These three sentences are not in 1577 ed.

shall please the iustices of peace to assigne, so that the taxation exceed not twentie shillings, as I haue beene informed. And thus much of the poore, *and* such prouision as is appointed for them within the realme of England."

Among the users of Harman's book, the chief and coolest was the author of *The groundworke of Conny-catching*, 1592, who wrote a few introductory pages, and then quietly reprinted almost all Harman's book with an 'I leaue you now vnto those which by Maister Harman are discouered' (p. 103, below). By this time Harman was no doubt dead.—Who will search for his Will in the Wills Office?—Though Samuel Rowlands was alive, he did not show up this early appropriator of Harman's work as he did a later one. As a kind of Supplement to the *Caueat*, I have added, as the 4th tract in the present volume, such parts of the *Groundworke of Conny-catching* as are not reprinted from Harman. The *Groundworke* has been attributed to Robert Greene, but on no evidence (I believe) except Greene's having written a book in three Parts on Conny-catching, 1591-2, and 'A Disputation betweene a Hee Conny-catcher and a Shee Conny-catcher, whether a Theafe or a Whore is most hvtfull in Cousonage to the Common-wealth,' 1592.¹ Hearne's copy of the *Groundworke* is bound up in the 2nd vol. of Greene's Works, among George III.'s books in the British Museum, as if it really was Greene's.

Another pilferer from Harman was Thomas Dekker, in his *Belman of London*, 1603, of which three editions were published in the same year (*Hazlitt*). But Samuel Rowlands found him out and showed him up. From the fifth edition of the *Belman*, the earliest that our copier, Mr W. M. Wood, could find in the British Museum, he has drawn up the following account of the book:

The Belman of London. Bringing to Light the most notorious Villanies that are now practised in the Kingdome. Profitable for Gentlemen, Lawyers, Merchants, Citizens, Farmers, Masters of Housholds, and all sorts of Servants to mark, and delightfull for all Men to Reade.

Lege, Perlege, Relege.

The fift Impression, with new additions. Printed at London by Miles Flesher. 1640

¹ *Hazlitt's Hand Book*, p. 241.

On the back of the title-page, after the table of contents, the eleven following 'secret villainies' are described, severally, as

"Cheating Law	Bernard's Lawe.
Vincent's Law.	The black Art.
Curbing Law.	Prigging Law.
Lifting Law.	High Law.
Sacking Law.	Frigging Law.
Five Iumpes at Leape-frog."	

After a short description of the four ages of the world, there is an account of a feast, at which were present all kinds of vagabonds. Dekker was conveyed, by 'an old nimble-tong'd beldam, who seemed to haue the command of the place,' to an upper loft, 'where, vnseene, I might, through a wooden Latice that had prospect of the dining roome, both see and heare all that was to be done or spoken.'

'The whole assembly being thus gathered together, one, amongst the rest, who tooke vpon him a Seniority ouer the rest, charged euery man to answer to his name, to see if the Inry were full :—the Bill by which hee meant to call them beeing a double Ing of ale (that had the spirit of *Aquavitæ* in it, it smelt so strong), and that hee held in his hand. Another, standing by, with a toast, nutmeg, and ginger, ready to cry *Vous avez* as they were cald, and all that were in the roome hauing single pots by the eares, which, like Pistols, were charged to goe off so soone as euer they heard their names. This Ceremony beeing set abroach, an Oyes was made. But he that was Rector Chory (the Captain of the Tatterdemalions) spying one to march vnder his Colours, that had neuer before serued in those lowsie warres, paused awhile (after hee had taken his first draught, to tast the dexterity of the liquor), and then began, Iustice-like, to examine this yonger brother vpon interrogatories.'

This yonger brother is afterwards 'stalled to the rogue;' and the 'Rector Chory'¹ instructs him in his duties, and tells him the names and degrees of the fraternity of vagabonds. Then comes the feast, after which, 'one who tooke vpon him to be speaker to the whole house,' began, as was the custom of their meeting, 'to make an oration in praise of Beggery, and of those that professe the trade,' which done, all the company departed, leaving the 'old beldam' and Dekker the only occupants of the room.

'The spirit of her owne mault walkt in her brain-pan, so that, what with the sweetnes of gaines which slee had gotten by her Marchant

¹ Leader of the Choir, Captain of the Company.

Venturers, and what with the fumes of drinke, which set her tongue in going, I found her apt for talke; and, taking hold of this opportunity, after some intreaty to discouer to mee what these vpright men, rufflers and the rest were, with their seuerall qualities and manners of life, Thus shee began.'

And what she tells Dekker is taken, all of it, from Harman's book.

Afterwards come accounts of the five 'Laws' and five jumps at leap-frog mentioned on the back of the title-page, and which is quoted above, p. xv.

Lastly 'A short Discourse of Canting,' which is, entirely, taken from Harman, pages 84—87, below.

As I have said before, Dekker was shown up for his pilferings from Harman by Samuel Rowlands, who must, says Mr Collier in his Bibliographical Catalogue, have published his *Martin Mark-all, Beadle of Bridewell*, in or before 1609,—though no edition is known to us before 1610,—because Dekker in an address 'To my owne Nation' in his *Lanthorne and Candle-light*, which was published in 1609, refers to Rowlands as a 'Beadle of Bridewell.' 'You shall know him,' (says Dekker, speaking of a rival author, [that is, Samuel Rowlands] whom he calls 'a Usurper') 'by his Habiliments, for (by the furniture he weares) hee will bee taken for a *Beadle of Bridewell*.' That this 'Usurper' was Rowlands, we know by the latter's saying in *Martin Mark-all*, leaf E, i back, 'although he (the Bel-man, that is, Dekker) is bold to call me an *vsurper*; for so he doth in his last round.'

Well, from this treatise of Rowlands', Mr Wood has made the following extracts relating to Dekker and Harman, together with Rowlands's own list of slang words not in Dekker or Harman, and 'the error in his [Dekker's] words, and true englishing of the same:'

Martin Mark-all, Beadle of Bridewell; his defence and Answer to the Belman of London, Discouering the long-concealed Originall and Regiment of Rogues, when they first began to take head, and how they haue succeeded one the other successiueley vnto the sixe and twentieth yeare of King Henry the eight, gathered out of the Chronicle of Crackeropes, and (as they terme it) the Legend of Lossels. By S[amuel] R[owlands].

Orderunt peccare boni virtutis amore,
Orderunt peccare mali formidine pœnæ.

London

Printed for Iohn Budge and Richard Bonian. 1610.

'Martin Mark-all, his Apologie to the Bel-man of London. There hath been of late dayes great paines taken on the part of the good old Bel-man of London, in discovering, as hee thinks, a new-found Nation and People. Let it be so for this time : hereupon much adoe was made in setting forth their liues, order of living, method of speech, and vsnall meetings, with diuers other things thereunto appertaining. These volumes and papers, now spread euerie where, so that euerie lacke-boy now can say as well as the proudest of that fraternitie, "will you wapp for a wyn, or tranie for a make?" The gentle Company of Cursitours began now to stirre, and looke about them ; and hauing gathered together a Conuocation of Canting Caterpillars, as wel in the North parts at the Diuels arse apeake,¹ as in the South, they diligently enquired, and straight search was made, whether any had revolted from that faithles fellowship. Herupon euery one gaue his verdict: some supposed that it might be some one that, hauing ventured to farre beyond wit and good taking heede, was fallen into the hands of the Magistrate, and carried to the trayning Cheates, where, in shew of a penitent heart, and remoarse of his good time ill spent, turned the cocke, and let out all : others thought it might be some spie-knaue that, hauing little to doe, tooke vpon him the habite and forme of an Hermite ; and so, by dayly commercing and discoursing, learned in time the mysterie and knowlege of this ignoble profession : and others, because it smelt of a study, deemed it to be some of their owne companie, that had been at some free-schoole, and belike, because hee would be handsome against a good time, tooke pen and inke, and wrote of that subiect ; thus, *Tot homines, tot sententiæ*, so many men, so many mindes. And all because the spightfull Poet would not set too his name. At last vp starts an old Cacademicall Academicke with his frize bonnet, and giues them al to know, that this invectiue was set foorth, made, and printed Fortie yeeres agoe. And being then called, 'A caueat for Cursitors,' is now newly printed, and termed, 'The Bel-man of London,' made at first by one Master Harman, a Iustice of Peace in Kent, in Queene Marie's daies,—he being then about ten yeeres of age.' Sign. A. 2.

'They (the vagabonds) haue a language among themselues, composed of *omnium gatherum* ; a glimering whereof, one of late daies hath endeoured to manifest, as farre as his Authour is pleased to be an in-

¹ Where at this day the Rogues of the North part, once euerie three yeeres, assemble in the night, because they will not be seene and espied ; being a place, to those that know it, verie fit for that purpos,—it being hollow, and made spacious vnder ground ; at first, by estimation, halfe a mile in compasse ; but it hath such turnings and roundings in it, that a man may easily be lost if hee enter not with a guide.

telligencer. The substance whereof he leaueth for those that will dilate thereof; enough for him to haue the praise, other the paines, notwithstanding *Harman's* ghost continually clogging his conscience with *Sic Vos non Vobis*.—Sign. C. 3 back.¹

‘Because the Bel-man entreateth any that is more rich in canting, to lend him better or more with variety, he will repay his loue double, I haue thought good, not only to shew his errour in some places in setting downe olde wordes vsed fortie yeeeres agoe, before he was borne, for wordes that are vsed in these dayes (although he is bold to call me an vsurper (for so he doth in his last round), and not able to maintayne the title, but haue enlarged his Dictionary (or *Master Harman's*) with such wordes as I thinke hee neuer heard of (and yet in vse too); but not out of vaine glorie, as his ambition is, but, indeede, as an experienced souldier that hath deerely paid for it: and therefore it shall be honour good enough for him (if not too good) to come vp with the Reare (I doe but shoote your owne arrow back againe), and not to haue the leading of the Van as he meanes to doe, although small credite in the end will redound to eyther. You shall know the wordes not set in eyther his Dictionaries by this marke §: and for shewing the errour in his words, and true englishing of the same and other, this marke ¶ shall serue

§ Abram, madde

§ He maunds Abram, he begs as a madde man

¶ Bung, is now vsed for a pocket, heretofore for a purse

§ Budge a beake, runne away

§ A Bite, secrete mulierum

§ Crackmans, the hedge

§ To Castell, to see or looke

§ A Roome Cuttle, a sword

§ A Cuttle bung, a knife to cut a purse

§ Chepemans, Cheape-side market

¶ Chates, the Gallowes: here he mistakes both the simple word, because he so found it printed, not knowing the true originall thereof, and also in the compound; as for *Chates*, it should be *Cheates*, which word is vsed generally for things, as *Tip me that Cheate*, Giue me that thing: so that if you will make a word for the Gallous, you must put thereto this word *treynng*, which signifies

¹ Of the above passages, Dekker speaks in the following manner:—“There is an Usurper, that of late hath taken vpon him the name of the Belman; but being not able to maintaine that title, hee doth now call himselfe the Bel-mans brother; his ambition is (rather out of vaine-glory then the true courage of an experienced Souldier) to haue the leading of the Van; but it shall be honor good enough for him (if not too good) to come vp with the Rere. You shall know him by his Habillments, for (by the furniture he weares) he will be taken for a *Beadle of Bridewell*. It is thought he is rather a Newter then a friend to the cause: and therefore the Bel-man doth here openly protest that hee comes into the field as no fellow in armes with him.”—*O per se O* (1612 edit.), sign. A. 2.

hanging ; and so *treyning cheate* is as much to say, hanging things, or the Gallous, and not *Chates*.

- § A flicke, a Theefe
- § Famblers, a paire of Gloues
- § Greenemans, the fields
- § Gilkes for the gigger, false keyes for the doore or picklockes
- § Gracemans, Gracious streete market
- § Iockam, a man's yard
- § Ian, a purse
- § Iere, a turd
- § Lugges, eares
- § Loges, a passe or warrant
- § A Feager of Loges, one that beggeth with false passes or counterfeit writings
- § Numans, Newgate Market
- ¶ Nigling, company keeping with a woman : this word is not vsed now, but *wapping*, and thereof comes the name *wapping mortis*, whoores.
- § To plant, to hide
- ¶ Smellar, a garden ; not smelling cheate, for that 's a Nosegay
- § Spreader, butter
- § Whittington, Newgate.

“ And thus haue I runne ouer the Canter's Dictionary ; to speake more at large would aske more time then I haue allotted me ; yet in this short time that I haue, I meane to sing song for song with the Belman, ere I wholly leaue him.” [Here follow three Canting Songs.] Sign. E 1, back—E 4.

“ And thus hath the Belman, through his pitifull ambition, caused me to write that I would not : And whereas he disclaims the name of Brotherhood, I here vtterly renounce him & his fellowship, as not desirous to be resolu'd of anything he professeth on this subiect, knowing my selfe to be as fully instructed herein as euer he was.”—Sign. F.

In the second Part of his *Belman of London*, namely, his *Lanthorne and Candle-light*, 1609, Dekker printed a Dictionary of Canting, which is only a reprint of Harman's (p. 82-4, below). A few extracts from this *Lanthorne* are subjoined :

Canting.

“ This word *canting* seemes to bee deriued from the latine *verbe canto*, which signifies in English, to sing, or to make a sound with words,—that is to say, to speake. And very aptly may *canting* take his deriuation, a *cantando*, from singing, because, amongst these beggerly consorts that can play vpon no better instruments, the language of *canting* is a kind of musicke ; and he that in such assemblies can *cant*

best, is counted the best Musitian."—*Dekker's Lanthorne and Candle-light*, B. 4. back.

Specimen of "Canting rithmes."

"Enough—with bowsy Coue maund Nace,
 Tour the Patring Coue in the Darkeman Case,
 Docked the Dell, for a Coper meke
 His wach shall feng a Pronounes Nab-chete,
 Cyarum, by Salmon, and thou shalt pek my Iere
 In thy Gan, for my watch it is nace gere,
 For the bene bowse my watch hath a win, &c."

Dekker's Lanthorne, &c., C. 1. back.

A specimen of "Canting prose," with translation, is given on the same page.

Dekker's dictionary of Canting, given in *Lanthorne and Candle-light*, is the same as that of Harman.

"A Canting Song.

The Ruffin cly the nab of the Harman beck,
 If we mawn'd Pannam, lap or Ruff-peck,
 Or poplars of yarum : he cuts, bing to the Ruffmans,
 Or els he sweares by the light-mans,
 To put our stamps in the Harmans,
 The ruffian cly the ghost of the Harman beck
 If we heaue a booth we cly the Ierke.
 If we niggle, or mill a bowsing Ken
 Or nip a boung that has but a win
 Or dup the giger of a Gentry cofe's ken,
 To the quier cuffing we bing,
 And then to the quier Ken, to scowre the Cramp ring,
 And then to the Trin'de on the chates, in the lightmans
 The Bube *and* Ruffian cly the Harman beck *and* harmans.

Thus Englished.

The Dinell take the Constable's head,
 If we beg Bacon, Butter-milke, or bread,
 Or Pottage, to the hedge he bids vs hie
 Or sweares (by this light) i' th' stocks we shall lie.
 The Deuill haunt the Constable's gloast
 If we rob but a Booth, we are whip'd at a poast.
 If an ale-house we rob, or be tane with a whore,
 Or cut a purse that has inst a penny, and no more,
 Or come but stealing in at a Gentleman's dore
 To the Iustice straight we goe,
 And then to the Iayle to be shakled : And so

To be hang'd on the gallows i' th' day time : the pox
And the Deuill take the Constable and his stocks."

Ibid. C. 3. back.

Richard Head (says Mr Hotten), in his *English Rogue*, described in the *Life of Meriton Latroon*, a *Witty Extravagant*, 4 vols. 12mo., 1671-80, gave "a glossary of Cant words 'used by the Gipsies'; but it was only a reprint of what Decker had given sixty years before," and therefore merely taken from Harman too. 'The Bibliography of Slang, Cant, and Vulgar Language' has been given so fully at the end of Mr Hotten's Slang Dictionary, that I excuse myself from pursuing the subject farther. I only add here Mr Wood's extracts from four of the treatises on this subject not noticed by Mr Hotten in the 1864 edition of his Dictionary, but contained (with others) in a most curious volume in the British Museum, labelled *Practice of Robbers*,—Press Mark 518. h. 2.,—as also some of the slang words in these little books not given by Harman¹:

1. *The Catterpillers of this Nation anatomized, in a brief yet notable Discovery of House-breakers, Pick-pockets, &c. Together with the Life of a penitent High-way-man, discovering the Mystery of that Infernal Society. To which is added, the Manner of Hectoring and trapanning, as it is acted in and about the City of London.* London, Printed for M. H. at the Princes Armes, in Chancery-lane. 1659.

Ken = miller, house-breaker

lowre, or mint = wealth or money

Gigers jacked = locked doors

Tilers, or Cloyers, equivalent to shoplifters

Joseph, a cloak

Bung-nibber, or Cutpurse = a pickpocket.

2. *A Warning for Housekeepers; or, A discovery of all sorts of thieves and Robbers which go under these titles, viz.—The Gilter, the Mill, the Glasier, Budg and Saudg, File-lifter, Tongue-padder, The private Theif. With Directions how to prevent them, Also an exact description of every one of their Practices. Written by one who was a Prisoner in Newgate.* Printed for T. Newton, 1676.

Glasiers, thieves who enter houses, thro' windows, first removing a pane of glass (p. 4).

¹ We quote from four out of the five tracts contained in the volume. The title of the tract we do not quote is '*Hanging not Punishment enough*,' etc., London, 1701.

The following is a Budg and Snudg song :—

“The Budge it is a delicate trade,
 And a delicate trade of fame ;
 For when that we have bit the bloe,
 We carry away the game :
 But if the cully nap us,
 And the lures from us take,
 O then they rub us to the whitt,
 And it is hardly worth a make.
 But when that we come to the whitt
 Our Darbies to behold,
 And for to take our penitency,
 And boose the water cold.
 But when that we come out agen,
 As we walk along the street,
 We bite the Culley of his cole,
 But we are rubbed unto the whitt.
 And when that we come to the whitt,
 For garnish they do cry,
 Mary, faugh, you son of a wh——
 Ye shall have it by and by.
 But when that we come to Tyburn,
 For going upon the budge,
 There stands Jack Catch, that son of a w——
 That owes us all a grudge
 And when that he hath noosed us
 And our friends tips him no cole
 O then he throws us in the cart
 And tumbles us into the hole.”—(pp. 5, 6.)

On the last page of this short tract (which consists of eight pages) we are promised :

“In the next Part you shall have a fuller description.”

3. *Street Robberies consider'd ; The reason of their being so frequent, with probable means to prevent 'em : To which is added three short Treatises—1. A Warning for Travellers ; 2. Observations on House-breakers ; 3. A Caveat for Shopkeepers.* London, J. Roberts. [no date] *Written by a converted Thief.*

Shepherd is mentioned in this book as being a clever prison breaker (p. 6). There is a long list of slang words in this tract. The following are only a few of them :

Abram, Naked

Betty, a Picklock

Bubble-Buff, Bailiff

Bube, Pox

Chive, a Knife

Clapper dudgeon, a beggar born

Collar the Cole, Lay hold on the money

Cull, a silly fellow	Nimming, stealing
Dads, an old man	Oss Chives, Bone-handled knives
Darbies, Iron	Otter, a sailor
Diddle, Geneva	Peter, Portmantua
Earnest, share	Plant the Whids, take care what you say
Elf, little	Popps, Pistols
Fencer, receiver of stolen goods	Rubbs, hard shifts
Fib, to beat	Rumbo Ken, Pawn-brokers
Fog, smoke	Rum Mort, fine Woman
Gage, Exciseman	Snable, taken
Gilt, a Picklock	Smeer, a painter
Grub, Provender	Snafflers, Highwaymen
Hic, booby	Snic, to cut
Hog, a shilling	Tattle, watch
Hum, strong	Tic, trust
Jem, Ring	Tip, give
Jet, Lawyer	Tit, a horse
Kick, Sixpence	Tom Pat, a parson
Kin, a thief	Tout, take heed
Kit, Dancing-master	Tripe, the belly
Lap, Spoon-meat	Web, cloth
Latch, let in	Wobble, to boil
Leake, Welshman	Yam, to eat
Leap, all safe	Yelp, a crier
Mauks, a whore	Yest, a day ago
Mill, to beat	Zad, crooked
Mish, a smock	Znees, Frost
Mundungus, sad stuff	Zouch, an ungenteel man
Nan, a maid of the house	&c., a Bookseller
Nap, an arrest	

“The King of the Night, as the Constables please to term themselves, should be a little more active in their employment; but all their business is to get to a watch house and guzzle, till their time of going home comes.” (p. 60.)

“A small bell to Window Shutters would be of admirable use to prevent Housebreakers.” (p. 70.)

4. *A true discovery of the Conduct of Receivers and Thief-Takers, in and about the City of London, &c., &c.* London, 1718.

This pamphlet is “design’d as preparatory to a larger Treatise, wherein shall be propos’d Methods to extirpate and suppress for the future such villanous Practices.” It is by “Charles Hitchin, one of the Marshals of the City of London.”

I now take leave of Harman, with a warm commendation of him to the reader.

The third piece in the present volume is a larky Sermon in praise of Thieves and Thievery, the title of which (p. 93, below) happened to catch my eye when I was turning over the Cotton Catalogue, and which was printed here, as well from its suiting the subject, as from a pleasant recollection of a gallop some 30 years ago in a four-horse coach across Harford-Bridge-Flat, where Parson Haben (or Hyberdyne), who is said to have preached the Sermon, was no doubt robbed. My respected friend Goody-goody declares the sermon to be 'dreadfully irreverent;' but one needn't mind him. An earlier copy than the Cotton one turned up among the Lansdowne MSS, and as it differed a good deal from the Cotton text, it has been printed opposite to that.

Of the fourth piece in this little volume, *The Groundworke of Conny-catching*, less its reprint from Harman, I have spoken above, at p. xiv. There was no good in printing the whole of it, as we should then have had Harman twice over.

The growth of the present Text was on this wise: Mr Viles suggested a reprint of Stace's reprint of Harman in 1573, after it had been read with the original, and collated with the earlier editions. The first edition I could not find, but ascertained, with some trouble, and through Mr H. C. Hazlitt, where the second and third editions were, and borrowed the 3rd of its ever-generous owner, Mr Henry Huth. Then Mr Hazlitt told me of Awdeley, which he thought was borrowed from Harman. However, Harman's own words soon settled that point; and Awdeley had to precede Harman. Then the real bagger from Harman, the *Groundworke*, had to be added, after the Parson's Sermon. Mr Viles read the proofs and revises of Harman with the original: Mr Wood and I have made the Index; and I, because Mr Viles is more desperately busy than myself, have written the Preface.

The extracts from Mr J. P. Collier must be taken for what they are worth. I have not had time to verify them; but assume them to be correct, and not ingeniously or unreasonably altered from their originals, like Mr Collier's print of Henslowe's Memorial, of which

Dr Ingleby complains,¹ and like his notorious Alleyn letter. If some one only would follow Mr Collier through all his work—pending his hoped-for Retractations,—and assure us that the two pieces above-named, and the Perkins Folio, are the only things we need reject, such some-one would render a great service to all literary antiquarians, and enable them to do justice to the wonderful diligence, knowledge, and acumen, of the veteran pioneer in their path. Certainly, in most of the small finds which we workers at this Text thought we had made, we afterwards found we had been anticipated by Mr Collier's *Registers of the Stationers' Company*, or *Bibliographical Catalogue*, and that the facts were there rightly stated.

¹ To obviate the possibility of mistake in the lection of this curious document, Mr E. W. Ashbee has, at my request, and by permission of the Governors of Dulwich College (where the paper is preserved), furnished me with an exact fac-simile of it, worked off on somewhat similar paper. By means of this fac-simile my readers may readily assure themselves that in no part of the memorial is Lodge called a "player;" indeed he is not called "Thos. Lodge," and it is only an inference, an unavoidable conclusion, that the Lodge here spoken of is Thomas Lodge, the dramatist. Mr Collier, however, professes to find that he is there called "Thos. Lodge," and that it [the Memorial] contains this remarkable grammatical inversion;

"and haveinge some knowledge and acquaintaunce of him as a player, requested me to be his baile,"
which is evidently intended to mean, *as I had some knowledge and acquaintance of Lodge as a player, he requested me to be his baile*. But in this place the original paper reads thus,

"and havinge of me some knowledge and acquaintaunce requested me to be his bayle,"
meaning, of course, *Lodge, having some knowledge and acquaintance of me, requested me to be his bail*.

The interpolation of the five words needed to corroborate Mr Collier's explanation of the misquoted passage from Gosson, and the omission of two other words inconsistent with that interpolation, may be thought to exhibit some little ingenuity; it was, however, a feat which could have cost him no great pains. But the labour of recasting the orthography of the memorial must have been considerable; while it is difficult to imagine a rational motive to account for such labour being incurred. To expand the abbreviations and modernize the orthography might have been expedient, as it would have been easy. But, in the name of reason, what is the gain of writing *weheare* and *theare* for "where" and "there;" *elcere*, *yeeld*, and *meerly* for "clere," "yealde," and "merely;" *verie*, *anie*, *laie*, *waie*, *paie*, *yssue*, and *pryryly*, for "very," "any," "lay," "way," "pay," "issue," and "privylie;" *sondrie*, *begon*, and *doen* for "sundrie," "began," and "don;" and *thintent*, *thaction*, and *thacceptaunce* for "the intent," "the action," and "the acceptance"?—p. 14 of Dr C. M. Ingleby's '*Was Thomas Lodge an Actor? An Exposition touching the Social Status of the Playwright in the time of Queen Elizabeth*.' Printed for the Author by R. Barrett and Sons, 13 Mark Lane, 1868. 2s. 6d.

That there is pure metal in Mr Collier's work, and a good deal of it, few will doubt; but the dross needs refining out. I hope that the first step in the process may be the printing of the whole of the Stationers' Registers from their start to 1700 at least, by the Camden Society,—within whose range this work well lies,—or by the new Harleian or some other Society. It ought not to be left to the 'Early English Text' to do some 20 years hence.

F. J. FURNIVALL.

29 Nov., 1869.

P.S. For a curious Ballad describing beggars' tricks in the 17th century, say about 1650, see the Roxburghe Collection, i. 42-3, and the Ballad Society's reprint, now in the press for 1869, i. 137-41, '*The cunning Northerne Beggar*': 1. he shams lame; 2. he pretends to be a poor soldier; 3. a sailor; 4. cripple; 5. diseased; 6. festered all over, and face daubed with blood; 7. blind; 8. has had his house burnt.

Correction.

p, 44, line 12 from foot; *for* counterfeate *read* counterfeate.

NOTES.

p. vii. ix, p. 19, 20. *Elizabeth, Countess of Shrewsbury, and her parish.* The manor of Erith was granted to Elizabeth, Countess of Shrewsbury, by Henry VIII. in the 36th year of his reign, A.D. 1544-5. The Countess died in 1567, and was buried in the parish church of Erith. "The manor of Eryth becoming part of the royal revenue, continued in the crown till K. Henry VIII. in his 36th year, granted it in fee to Elizabeth, relict of George, Earl of Shrewsbury, by the description of the *manor, of Eryth, alias Lysnes*, with all its members and appurts., and also all that wood, called Somersden, lying in Eryth, containing 30 acres; and a wood, called Ludwood, there, containing 50 acres; and a wood, called Fridayes-hole, by estimation, 20 acres, to hold of the King *in capite* by knight's service.¹ She was the second wife of George, Earl of Shrews-

¹ Rot. Esch. ejus an, pt. 6.

bury, Knight of the Garter,¹ who died July 26, anno 33 K. Henry VIII.,² by whom she had issue one son, John, who died young; and Anne, married to Peter Compton, son and heir of Sir Wm. Compton, Knt., who died in the 35th year of K. Henry VIII., under age, as will be mentioned hereafter. Elizabeth, Countess of Shrewsbury, in Easter Term, in the 4th year of Q. Elizabeth, levied a fine of this manor, with the passage over the Thames; and dying in the tenth year of that reign, anno 1567,³ lies buried under a sumptuous tomb, in this church. Before her death this manor, &c., seem to have been settled on her only daughter Anne, then wife of Wm. Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, and widow of Peter Compton, as before related, who was in possession of it, with the passage over the Thames, anno 9 Q. Elizabeth."—Hasted's *History of Kent*, vol. i. p. 196.

p. ix. In Lambarde's *Perambulation of Kent* (edit. 1826), p. 66, he mentions "Thomas Harman" as being one of the "Kentish writers."

Lambarde, in the same volume, p. 60, also mentions "Abacuk Harman" as being the name of one "of suche of the nobilitie and gentrie, as the Heralds recorded in their visitation in 1574."

There is nothing about Harman in Mr Saudys's book on Gavelkind, &c., *Consuetudines Cantie*. To future inquirers perhaps the following book may be of use:

"*Bibliotheca Cantiana*: A Bibliographical Account of what has been published on the History, Topography, Antiquities, Customs, and Family History of the County of Kent." By John Russell Smith.

p. 1, 12. *The .xxv. Orders of Knaues*.—Mr Collier gives an entry in the Stationers' Registers in 1585-6: "Edward White. Rd. of him, for printinge xxijth ballades at iiij^d a peece—vijs iiij^d, and xiiij. more at ij^d a peece ijs iiij^d ix^s viij^d" And No. 23 is "The xxvth orders of knaves."—*Stat. Reg.* ii. 207.

p. 22. *The last Duke of Buckingham was beheaded*.—Edward Stafford, third Duke of Buckingham, one of Henry VIII's and Wolsey's victims, was beheaded on Tower Hill, May 17, 1521, for 'imagining' the king's death. ('The murnynge of Edward Duke of Buckyngham' was one of certain 'ballettes' licensed to Mr John Wallye and Mrs Toye in 1557-8, says Mr J. P. Collier, *Stat. Reg.* i. 4.) His father (Henry Stafford) before him suffered the same fate in 1483, having been betrayed by his servant Bannister after his unsuccessful rising in Brecon.—*Percy Folio Ballads*, ii. 253.

¹ This lady was one of the daughters and co-heirs of Sir Richard Walden, of this parish, Knt., and the Lady Margaret his wife, who both lie buried in this church [of Erith]. He was, as I take it, made Knight of the Bath in the 17th year of K. Henry VII., his estate being then certified to be 40*l.* per annum, being the son of Richard Walden, esq. Sir Richard and Elizabeth his wife both lie buried here. *MSS. Dering*.

² Dugd. Bar. vol. i. p. 332.

³ Harman's dedication of his book to her was no doubt written in 1566, and his 2nd edition, in both states, published before the Countess's death.

p. 23. *Egyptians*. The Statute 22 Hen. VIII. c. 10 is *An Acte concerning Egypsysans*. After enumerating the frauds committed by the "outlandysse people callynge themselves Egyptians," the first section provides that they shall be punished by Imprisonment and loss of goods, and be deprived of the benefit of 8 Hen. VI. c. 29. "de medietate linguæ." The second section is a proclamation for the departure from the realm of all such Egyptians. The third provides that stolen goods shall be restored to their owners; and the fourth, that one moiety of the goods seized from the Egyptians shall be given to the seizer.

p. 48, l. 5. *The Lovel Sturtons man; and when he was executed*. Charles Stourton, 7th Baron, 1548—1557:—"Which Charles, with the help of four of his own servants in his own house, committed a shameful murther upon one Hargill, and his son, with whom he had been long at variance, and buried their Carcasses 50 foot deep in the earth, thinking thereby to prevent the discovery; but it coming afterwards to light, he had sentence of death passed upon him, which he suffer'd at Salisbury, the 6th of March, Anno 1557, 4 Phil. & Mary, by an Halter of Silk, in respect of his quality."—*The Peerage of England*, vol. ii. p. 24 (Lond., 1710).

p. 77. *Saint Quinten's*. Saint Quinten was invoked against coughs, says Brand, ed. Ellis, 1841, i. 196.

p. 77. *The Three Cranes in the Vintry*. "Then the Three Cranes' lane, so called, not only of a sign of three cranes at a tavern door, but rather of three strong cranes of timber placed on the Vintry wharf by the Thames side, to crane up wines there, as is afore showed. This lane was of old time, to wit, the 9th of Richard II., called The Painted Tavern lane, of the tavern being painted."—*Stow's Survey of London*, ed. by Thoms, p. 90.

"The Three Cranes was formerly a favourite London sign. With the usual jocularly of our forefathers, an opportunity for punning could not be passed; so, instead of the three cranes, which in the vintry used to lift the barrels of wine, three birds were represented. The Three Cranes in Thames Street, or in the vicinity, was a famous tavern as early as the reign of James I. It was one of the taverns frequented by the wits in Ben Jonson's time. In one of his plays he says:—

'A pox o' these pretenders! to wit, your *Three Cranes*, Mitre and Mermaid men! not a corn of true salt, not a grain of right mustard among them all!'—*Bartholomew Fair*, act i. sc. 1.

"On the 23rd of January, 166½ Pepys suffered a strong mortification of the flesh in having to dine at this tavern with some poor relations. The sufferings of the snobbish secretary must have been intense:—

'By invitation to my uncle Fenner's, and where I found his new wife, a *pitiful, old, ugly, ill-bred* woman in a hatt, a mid-wife. Here were many of his, and as many of her, relations, *sorry, mean people*; and after choosing our gloves, we all went over to the Three Cranes Taverne;

and though the best room of the house, in such a narrow dogghole we were crammed, and I believe we were near 40, that it made me loath my company and victuals, and a very poor dinner it was too.'

"Opposite this tavern people generally left their boats to shoot the bridge, walking round to Billingsgate, where they would reenter them." —Hotten's *History of Signboards*, p. 204.

p. 77. *Saynt Iulyans in Thystellworth parish*. 'Thistleworth, see Isleworth,' says Walker's *Gazetteer*, ed. 1801. That there might well have been a St Julian's Inn there we learn from the following extract:

"St. Julian, the patron of travellers, wandering minstrels, boatmen,¹ &c., was a very common inn sign, because he was supposed to provide good lodgings for such persons. Hence two St Julian's crosses, in saltier, are in chief of the innholders' arms, and the old motto was:— 'When I was harbourless, ye lodged me.' This benevolent attention to travellers procured him the epithet of 'the good herbergeor,' and in France '*bon herbet*.' His legend in a MS., Bodleian, 1596, fol. 4, alludes to this:—

'Therefore yet to this day, thei that over lond wende,
They biddeth Seint Julian, anon, that gode herborw he hem sende;
And Seint Julianes Pater Noster ofte seggeth also
For his faders soule, and his moderes, that he hem bring therto.'

And in '*Le dit des Heureux*,' an old French fabliau:—

'Tu as dit la patenotre
Saint Julian à cest matin,
Soit en Roumans, soit en Latin;
Or tu seras bien ostilé.'

In mediæval French, *L'hotel Saint Julien* was synonymous with good cheer.

'—— Sommes tuit vostre.
Par Saint Pierre le bon Apostre,
L'ostel aurez Saint Julien,'

says Mabile to her feigned uncle in the fabliau of '*Boivin de Provins*;' and a similar idea appears in 'Cocke Lorell's bote,' where the crew, after the entertainment with the 'relygyous women' from the Stews' Bank, at Colman's Hatch,

'Blessyd theyr shyppe when they had done,
And dranke about a *Saint Iulyan's tonne*.'

Hotten's *History of Signboards*," p. 283.

"Isleworth in Queen Elizabeth's time was commonly in conversation,

¹ Of pilgrims, and of whoremongers, say Brand and Sir H. Ellis (referring to the *Hist. des Troubadours*, tom. i. p. 11,) in *Brand's Antiquities*, ed. 1841, i. 202. Chaucer makes him the patron of hospitality, saying of the Frankleyn, in the Prologue to the *Canterbury Tales*, "Seynt Iulian he was in his contre." Mr Hazlitt, in his new edition of Brand, i. 303, notes that as early as the *Anceren Riwle*, ab. 1220 A.D., we have 'Surely they (the pilgrims) find St. Julian's inn, which wayfaring men diligently seek.'

and sometimes in records, called Thistleworth."—Lysons' *Environs of London*, vol. iii. p. 79.

p. 77. *Rothered*: ? Rotherhithe.

p. 77. *The Kynges Barne*, betwene Detforde and Rothered, can hardly be the great hall of Eltham palace. Lysons (*Environs of London*, iv. p. 399) in 1796, says the hall was then used as a barn; and in vol. vi. of the *Archæologia*, p. 367, it is called "King John's Barn."

p. 77. *Ketbroke*. Kidbrooke is marked in large letters on the east of Blackheath on the modern Ordnance-map; and on the road from Blackheath to Eltham are the villages or hamlets of Upper Kidbrooke and Lower Kidbrooke.

"Kedbrooke lies adjoining to Charlton, on the south side of the London Road, a small distance from Blackheath. It was antiently written Cicebroc, and was once a parish of itself, though now (1778 A.D.) it is esteemed as an appendage to that of Charlton."—Hasted's *History of Kent*, vol. i. p. 40.

p. 100. *Sturbridge Fair*. Stourbridge, or Sturbich, the name of a common field, extending between Chesterton and Cambridge, near the little brook Sture, for about half a mile square, is noted for its fair, which is kept annually on September 19th, and continues a fortnight. It is surpassed by few fairs in Great Britain, or even in Europe, for traffic, though of late it is much lessened. The booths are placed in rows like streets, by the name[s] of which they are called, as Cheapside, &c., and are filled with all sorts of trades. The Duddery, an area of 80 or 100 yards square, resembles Blackwell Hall. Large commissions are negotiated here for all parts of England in *cheese*, woollen goods, wool, leather, hops, upholsterers' and ironmongers' ware, &c. &c. Sometimes 50 hackney coaches from London, ply morning and night, to and from Cambridge, as well as all the towns round, and the very barns and stables are turned into inns for the accommodation of the poorer people. After the wholesale business is over, the country gentry generally flock in, laying out their money in stage-plays, taverns, music-houses, toys, puppet-shows, &c., and the whole concludes with a day for the sale of horses. This fair is under the jurisdiction of the University of Cambridge.—*Walker's Gazetteer*, ed. 1801. See Index to Brand's *Antiquities*.

THE
Fraternitie of Vacabondes.

As wel of ruslyng Vacabondes, as of beggerly, of
women as of men, of Gyrles as of Boyes,

with

their proper names and qualities.

With a description of the crafty company of

Cousoners and Shifters.

¶ Wherunto also is adioyned

the .xxv. Orders of Knaues,

otherwyse called

a Quartern of Knaues.

Confirmed for euer by Cocke Lorell.

(*)

¶ **The Vprightman speaketh.**

¶ Our Brotherhood¹ of Vacabondes,
If you would know where dwell :
In graues end Barge which syldome stande:
The talke wyll shew ryght well.

¶ **Cocke Lorell aunswereth.**

¶ Some orders of my Knaues also
In that Barge shall ye fynde :
For no where shall ye walke I trow,
But ye shall see their kynde.

¶ Imprinted at London by Iohn Awdeley, dwellyng in little
Britayne streete without Aldersgate.

1575.

¹ *Orig.* Brothethood.

[leaf 1b.]

¶ *The Printer to the Reader.*

THIS brotherhood of Vacabondes,
 To shew that there be such in deede :
 Both Iustices and men of Landes,
 Wyll testifye it if it neede.
 For at a Sessions as they sat,
 By chaunce a Vacabond was got.

¶ Who promysde if they would him spare,
 And keepe his name from knowledge then :
 He would as straunge a thing declare,
 As euer they knew synce they were men.
 But if my fellowes do know (sayd he)
 That thus I dyd, they would kyll me.

¶ They graunting him this his request,
 He dyd declare as here is read,
 Both names and states of most and least,
 Of this their Vacabondes brotherhood.
 Which at the request of a worshipful man
 I haue set it forth as well as I can.

F I N I S.

[leaf 2]

¶ *The*

Fraternitye of Vacabondes

both rusling and beggerly,

Men and women, Boyes and Gyrls,

wyth

their proper names and qualities.

Whereunto are adioyned

the company of Cousoners and Shifters.

¶ AN ABRAHAM MAN.

AN Abraham man is he that walketh bare armed, and bare legged, and fayneth hym selfe mad, and caryeth a packe of wool, or a stycke with baken on it, or such lyke toy, and nameth himselfe poore Tom.

¶ A RUFFELER.

A Ruffeler goeth wyth a weapon to seeke seruice, saying he hath bene a Seruitor in the wars, and beggeth for his reliefe. But his chiefest trade is to robbe poore wayfaring men and market women.

¶ A PRYGMAN.

A Prygman goeth with a stycke in hys hand like an idle person. His propertye is to steale cloathes of the hedge, which they call storing of the Rogeman : or els filch Poultry, carying them to the Alehouse, whych they call the Bowsyng In, & ther syt playing at cardes and dice, tyl that is spent which they haue so fylched.

¶ A WHIPIACKE.

A Whypiacke is one, that by coulor of a counterfaite Lisence (which they call a Gybe, and the seales they cal Iarekes) doth vse to beg lyke a Maryner, But hys chieffest trade is to rob Bowthes in a Faire, or to pilfer ware from staules, which they cal heauing of the Bowth.

¶ A FRATER.

A Frater goeth wyth a like Lisence to beg for some Spittlehouse or Hospital. Their pray is commonly vpon [leaf 2b.] poore women as they go and come to the Markets.

¶ A QUIRE BIRD.

A Quire bird is one that came lately out of prison, & goeth to seeke seruice. He is commonly a stealer of Horses, which they terme a Priggar of Paulfreys.

¶ AN VPRIGHT MAN.

An Vpright man is one that goeth wyth the trunchion of a staffe, which staffe they cal a Filtchman. This man is of so much authority, that meeting with any of his profession, he may cal them to accompt, & commaund a share or snap vnto him selfe, of al that they haue gained by their trade in one moneth. And if he doo them wrong, they haue no remedy agaynst hym, no though he beate them, as he vseth commonly to do. He may also commaund any of their women, which they cal Doxies, to serue his turne. He hath ye chiefe place at any market walke, & other assembles, & is not of any to be controled.

¶ A CURTALL.

A Curtall is much like to the Vpright man, but hys authority is not fully so great. He vseth commonly to go with a short cloke, like to grey Friers, & his woman with him in like liuery, which he calleth his Altham if she be hys wyfe, & if she be his harlot, she is called hys Doxy.

¶ A PALLIARD.

A Palliard is he that goeth in a patched cloke, and hys Doxy goeth in like apparell.

¶ AN IRISHE TOYLE.

An Irishe toyle is he that carieth his ware in hys wallet, as laces, pins, poyntes, and such like. He vseth to shew no wares vntill he haue his almes. And if the good man and wyfe be not in the way, he procureth of the ch[i]ldren or seruants a fleece of wool, or the worth of xij.d. of some other thing, for a peniworth of his wares.

[leaf 3.]

¶ A IACK MAN.

A Iackeman is he that can write and reade, and sometime speake latin. He vseth to make counterfaite licences which they call Gybes, and sets to Seales, in their language called Iarkes.

¶ A SWYGMAN.

A Swygman goeth with a Pedlers pack.

¶ A WASHMAN.

A Washman is called a Palliard, but not of the right making. He vseth to lye in the hye way with lame or sore legs or armes to beg. These men ye right Pilliards wil often times spoile, but they dare not complayn. They be bitten with Spickworts, & sometime with rats bane.

¶ A TINKARD.

A Tinkard leaueth his bag a sweating at the Alehouse, which they terme their Bowsing In, and in the meane season goeth abroad a begging.

¶ A WYLDE ROGE.

A wilde Roge is he that hath no abiding place but by his coulour of going abroad to beg, is commonly to seeke some kinsman of his, and all that be of hys corporation be properly called Roges.

¶ A KITCHEN CO.

A Kitchin Co is called an ydle runagate Boy.

¶ A KITCHEN MORTES.

A Kitchin Mortes is a Gyrlle, she is brought at her full age to the Vpryght man to be broken, and so she is called a Doxy, vntil she come to ye honor of an Altham.

¶ DOXIES.

Note especially all which go abroad working laces and shirt stringes, they name them Doxies.

¶ A PATRIARKE CO.

A Patriarke Co doth make mariages, & that is vntill ^[leaf 36.] death depart the married folke, which is after this sort: When they come to a dead Horse or any dead Catell, then they shake hands and so depart euery one of them a seuerall way

¶ THE COMPANY OF COUSONERS AND SHIFTERS.

¶ A CURTESY MAN.

A Curtesy man is one that walketh about the back lanes in London in the day time, and sometime in the broade streetes in the night season, and when he meeteth some handsome yong man clenly apareled, or some other honest Citizen, he maketh humble salutations and low curtesy, and sheweth him that he hath a worde or two to speake with his mastership. This child can behaue him selfe manerly, for he wyll desire him that he talketh withall, to take the vpper hand, and shew him much reuerence, and at last like his familier acquaintaunce will put on his cap, and walke syde by syde, and talke on this fashion: Oh syr, you seeme to be a man, and one that fauoureth men, and therefore I am the more bolder to breake my mind vnto your good maistership. Thus it is syr, ther is a certaine of vs (though I say it both taule and handsome men of theyr hands) which haue come lately from the wars, and as God knoweth haue nothing to take to, being both maisterles and moniles, & knowing no way wherby to yerue one peny. And further, wher as we haue bene welthely brought vp, and we also haue beene had in good estimation, we are a shamed now to declare our misery, and to fall a crauing as common Beggers, and as for to steale and robbe, (God is our record) it striketh vs to ^[leaf 4] the hart, to thinke of such a mischiefe, that euer any handsome man should fall into such a

daunger for thys worldly trash. Which if we had to suffice our want and necessity, we should neuer seeke thus shamefastly to craue on such good pityfull men as you seeme to be, neither yet so daungerously to hasarde our liues for so vyle a thing. Therefore good syr, as you seeme to be a handsome man your selfe, and also such a one as pitieth the miserable case of handsome men, as now your eyes and countenance sheweth to haue some pity vppon this my miserable complainte: So in Gods cause I require your maistershyp, & in the behalfe of my poore afflicted fellowes, which though here in sight they cry not with me to you, yet wheresouer they bee, I am sure they cry vnto God to moue the heartes of some good men to shew forth their liberality in this behalfe. All which & I with them craue now the same request at your good masterships hand. With these or such like words he frameth his talke. Now if the party (which he thus talketh withall) profereth hym a peny or .ii.d. he taketh it, but verye scornfully, and at last speaketh on this sorte: Well syr, your good will is not to be refused. But yet you shall vnderstand (good syr) that this is nothing for them, for whom I do thus shamefastly entreate. Alas syr, it is not a groate or .xii.d. I speake for, being such a company of Seruiters as wee haue bene: yet neuertheles God forbid I should not receiue your gentle offer at this time, hoping hereafter through your good motions to some such lyke good gentleman as you be, that I, or some of my fellowes in my place, shall finde the more liberality. These kind of ydle Vacabondes wyll go commonly well appareled, without [leaf 4b.] any weapon, and in place where they meete together, as at their hosteryes or other places, they wyll beare the port of ryght good gentlemen, & some are the more trusted, but commonly thei pay them *with* stealing a paire of sheetes, or Couerlet, & so take their farewell earely in the morning, before the mayster or dame be sturring.

¶ A CHEATOUR OR FINGERER.

These commonly be such kinde of idle Vacabondes as scarcely a man shall discerne, they go so gorgeously, sometime with waiting men, and sometime without. Their trade is to walke in such places, where as gentlemen & other worshipfull Citizens do resorte, as at

Poules, or at Christes Hospital, & somtime at ye Royal exchaunge. These haue very many acquaintaunces, yea, and for the most part will acquaint them selues with euery man, and fayne a society, in one place or other. But chiefly they wil seeke their acquaintaunce of such (which they haue learned by diligent enquiring where they resort) as haue receyued some porcioun of money of their friends, as yong Gentlemen which are sent to London to study the lawes, or els some yong Marchant man or other kynde of Occupier, whose friendes hath geuen them a stock of mony¹ to occupy withall. When they haue thus found out such a pray, they will find the meanes by theyr familiarity, as very curteously to bid him to breakefast at one place or other, where they are best acquainted, and closely amonge themselves wil appoint one of their Fraternity, which they call a Fyngerer, an olde beaten childe, not onely in such deceites, but also such a one as by his age is painted out with gray heares, wrinkled face, crooked back, and most commonly lame, as it might seeme with age, [leaf 5] yea and such a one as to shew a simplicity, shal weare a homely cloke and hat scarce worth .vi. d. This nimble fingred knight (being appointed to this place) commeth in as one not knownen of these Cheatours, but as vnwares shal sit down at the end of the bord where they syt, & call for his peny pot of wine, or a pinte of Ale, as the place serueth. Thus sitting as it were alone, mumbling on a crust, or some such thing, these other yonckers wil finde some kind of mery talke with him, some times questioning wher he dwelleth, & sometimes enquiring what trade he vseth, which commonly he telleth them he vseth husbandry: & talking thus merely, at last they aske him, how sayest thou, Father, wylt thou play for thy breakfast with one of vs, that we may haue some pastime as we syt? Thys olde Karle makyng it strainge at the first saith: My maysters, ich am an old man, and halfe blinde, and can skyl of very few games, yet for that you seeme to be such good Gentelmen, as to profer to play for that of which you had no part, but onely I my selfe, and therefore of right ich am worthy to pay for it, I shal with al my hart fulfyl your request. And so falleth to play, somtime at Cardes, & sometime at dice. Which through his counterfaiit simplicity

¹ *Orig.* mony

in the play somtimes ouer counteth himself, or playeth somtimes against his wyl, so as he would not, & then counterfaiteth to be angry, and falleth to swearing, & so leeing that, profereth to play for a shillyng or two. The other therat hauing good sport, seming to mocke him, falleth againe to play, and so by their legerdemane, & counterfaiting, winneth ech of them a shilling or twain, & at last whispereth the yong man in the eare to play with hym also, that ech one might haue a fling at him. [leaf 5 b.] This yong man for company falleth againe to play also with the sayd Fyngerer, and winneth as the other did which when he had loste a noble or .vi. s. maketh as though he had lost al his mony, and falleth a intreating for parte thereof againe to bring him home, which the other knowing his mind and intent, stoutely denieth and iesteth, & scoffeth at him. This Fingerer seeming then to be in a rage, desireth *them* as they are true gentlemen, to tarry till he fetcheth more store of money, or els to point some place where they may meete. They seeming greedy hereof, promiseth faithfully and clappeth handes so to meete. They thus ticklyng the young man in the eare, willeth him to make as much money as he can, and they wil make as much as they can, and consent as though they wil play booty against him. But in the ende they so vse the matter, that both the young man leeseth his part, and, as it seemeth to him, they leeing theirs also, and so maketh as though they would fal together by the eares with this fingerer, which by one wyle or other at last conueyeth him selfe away, & they as it were raging lyke mad bedlams, one runneth one way, an other an other way, leauing the loser indeede all alone. Thus these Cheatours at their accustomed hosteries meete closely together, and there receiue ech one his part of this their vile spoyle. Of this fraternity there be that be called helpers, which commonly haunt tauernes or alehouses, and commeth in as men not acquainted with none in the companye, but spying them at any game, wil byd them God spede and God be at their game, and will so place him selfe that he will shew his fellow by sygnes and tokens, without speech commonly, but sometime with far fetched [leaf 6] wordes, what cardes he hath in his hand, and how he may play against him. And those betwene *them* both getteth money out of the others purse.

¶ A RING FALLER.

A Ryng faller is he that getteth fayre copper rings, some made like signets, & some after other fashions, very faire gylded, & walketh vp and down the streetes, til he spieth some man of the country, or some other simple body whom he thinketh he may deceaue, and so goeth a lyttle before him or them, and letteth fall one of these ringes, which when the party that commeth after spieth and taketh it vp, he hauing an eye backward, crieth halfe part, the party that taketh it vp, thinking it to be of great value, profereth him some money for his part, which he not fully denieth, but willeth him to come into some alehouse or tauerne, and there they will common vpon the matter. Which when they come in, and are set in some solitary place (as commonly they call for such a place) there he desireth the party that found the ring to shew it him. When he seeth it, he falleth a entreating the party that found it, and desireth him to take money for his part, and telleth him that if euer he may do him any frendship hereafter he shal commaund him, for he maketh as though he were very desirous to haue it. The symple man seeing him so importune vpon it, thinketh the ring to bee of great valure, and so is the more lother to part from it. At last this ring faller asketh him what he will geue him for his part, for, saith he, seeing you wyl not let me haue the ring, alowe me my part, and take you the ring. The other asketh what he counteth the ring to be worth, he answereth, v. or vi. pound. No, saith he, it is not so much worth. [leaf 6b.] Well (saith this Ringfaller) let me haue it, and I wyll alow you .xl. s. for your part. The other party standyng in a doubt, and looking on the ryng, asketh if he wyll geue the money out of hand. The other answereth, he hath not so much ready mony about him, but he wil go fetch so much for him, if he wil go with him. The other that found the ring, thinking he meaneth truly, beginneth to profer him .xx. s. for his part, sometymes more, or les, which he verye scornfullye refuseth at the first, and styl entreateth that he might haue the ring, which maketh the other more fonder of it, and desireth him to take the money for his part, & so profereth him money. This ring faller seing y^e mony, maketh it very straunge, and first questioneth with him wher he dwelleth, and asketh him

what is his name, & telleth him that he semeth to be an honest man, and therfore he wil do somewhat for friendships sake, hoping to haue as friendly a pleasure at his hand hereafter, and so profereth hym for .x. s. more he should haue the ryng. At last, with entreatye on both partes, he geueth the Ring faller the money, and so departeth, thinkyng he hath gotten a very great Iewell. These kynde of deceyuing Vacabondes haue other practises with their rings, as somtimes to come to buy wares of mens Prentesies, and somtimes of their Maisters, and when he hath agreed of the price, he sayth he hath not so much money about him, but pulleth of one of these rings of from his fyngers, and profereth to leaue it in pawne, tyl his Maister or his friendes hath sene it, so promising to bring the money, the seller thinking he meaneth truly, letteth him go, and neuer seeth him after, tyll perhaps at Tyburne or at such lyke place. Ther is another kinde of these Ring choppers, which commonly cary about them a faire gold ring in deede, and these haue other counterfait rings made so lyke this gold ring, as ye shal not perceine the contrary, tyl it be brought to y^e touchstone. This child wyl come to borow mony of the right gold ring, the party mistrusting the Ring not to be good, goeth to the Goldsmith with the partye that hath the ryng, and tryeth it whether it be good golde, and also wayeth it to know how much it is worth. The Goldsmith tryeth it to be good gold, and also to haue hys ful weight like gold, and warenteth the party which shall lend the money that the ring is worth so much money according to the waight, this yoneker comming home with the party which shall lend the money, and hauing the gold ring againe, putteth vp the gold ring, and pulleth out a counterfaite ring very like the same, & so deliuereth it to the party which lendeth the money, they thinking it to be the same which they tryed, and so deliuereth the money or sometymes wares, and thus vily be deceiued.

¶ THE

.XXV. Orders of Knaues,

otherwise called

a quarterne of Knaues,

confirmed for euer by Cocke Lorell.

1 TROLL AND TROLL BY.

Troll and Trol by, is he that setteth naught by no man, nor no man by him. This is he that would beare rule in a place, and hath none authority nor thanke, & at last is thrust out of the doore like a knaue.

2 TROLL WITH.

Troll with is he *that* no man shall know the seruauant from y^e Maister. This knaue with his cap on his head [leaf 7b.] lyke Capon hardy, wyll syt downe by his Maister, or els go cheeke by cheeke with him in the streete.

3 TROLL HAZARD OF TRACE.

Troll hazard of trace is he that goeth behynde his Maister as far as he may see hym. Such knaues commonly vse to buy Spice-cakes, Apples, or other trifles, and doo eate them as they go in the streetes lyke vacabond Boyes.

4 TROLL HAZARD OF TRITRACE.

Troll hazard of tritrace, is he that goeth gaping after his Master, looking to and fro tyl he haue lost him. This knaue goeth gasyng about lyke a foole at euery toy, and then seeketh in euery house lyke a Maisterles dog, and when his Maister nedeth him, he is to seeke.

5 CHAFE LITTER.

Chafe Litter is he that wyll plucke vp the Fether-bed or Matrice, and pysse in the bedstraw, and wyl neuer ryse vncalled. This knaue berayeth many tymes in the corners of his Maisters chamber, or other places inconuenient, and maketh cleane hys shooes with the couerlet or curtaines.

6 OBLOQUIUM.

Obloquium is hee that wyll take a tale out of his Maisters mouth and tell it him selfe. He of right may be called a malapart knaue.

7 RINCE PYTCHER.

Rince Pytcher is he that will drinke out his thrift at the ale or wine, and be oft times dronke. This is a licoryce knaue that will swill his Maisters drink, and brybe his meate that is kept for him.

8 JEFFREY GODS FO.

Jeffery Gods Fo is he, that wil sweare & maintaine [leaf 8] othes. This is such a lying knaue that none wil beleue him, for the more he sweareth, ye les he is to be beleued.

9 NICHOL HARTLES.

Nichol Hartles is he, that when he should do ought for his Maister hys hart faileth him. This is a Trewand knaue that faineth himselfe sicke when he should woorke.

10 SIMON SOONE AGON.

Simon soone agon is he, that when his Mayster hath any thing to do, he wil hide him out of the way. This is a loytring knaue that wil hide him in a corner and sleepe or els run away.

11 GRENE WINCHARD.

Greene Winchard is he, that when his hose is broken and hange out at his shoes, he will put them into his shooes againe with a stick, but he wyll not amend them. This is a slouthfull knaue, that had leaner go lyke a begger then cleanly.

12 PROCTOUR.

Proctour is he, that will tary long, and bring a lye, when his Maister sendeth him on his errand. This is a stibber gibber Knaue, that doth fayne tales.

13 COMMITOUR OF TIDINGES.

Commitour of Tidings is he, that is ready to bring his Maister Nouels and tidinges, whether they be true or false. This is a tale bearer knaue, that wyll report words spoken in his Maisters presence.

14 GYLE HATHER

Gyle Hather is he, that wyll stand by his Maister when he is at dinner, and byd him beware that he eate no raw meate, because he would eate it himselfe. This is a pickthanke knaue, that would make his Maister (leaf 8 b.) beleue that the Cowe is woode.

15 BAWDE PHISICKE.

Bawde Phisicke, is he that is a Cocke, when his Maysters meate is cuyll dressed, and he challenging him therefore, he wyl say he wyll eate the rawest morsel thereof him selfe. This is a sausye knaue, that wyl contrary his Mayster alway.

16 MOUNCH PRESENT.

Mouch present is he that is a great gentleman, for when his Mayster sendeth him with a present, he wil take a tast thereof by the waye. This is a bold knaue, that sometyme will eate the best and leaue the worst for his Mayster.

17 COLE PROPHET.

Cole Prophet is he, that when his Maister sendeth him on his errand, he wyl tel his answer therof to his Maister or he depart from hym. This tittiuell knaue commonly maketh the worst of the best betwene hys Maister and his friende.

18 CORY FAUELL.

Cory fauell is he, that wyl lye in his bed, and cory the bed bordes in which hee lyeth in steede of his horse. This slouthfull knaue wyll buskill and scratch when he is called in the morning, for any hast.

19 DYNG THRIFT.

Dyng thrift is he, that wil make his Maisters horse cate pies and rybs of beefe, and drinke ale and wyne. Such false knaues oft tymes, wil sell their Maisters meate to their owne profit.

20 ESEN DROPPERS.

Esen Droppers bene they, that stand vnder mens wales or windowes, or in any other place, to heare the [leaf 9] secretes of a mans house. These misdeming knaues wyl stand in corners to heare if they be euill spoken of, or waite a shrewd turne.

21 CHOPLOGYKE.

Choplogyke, is he that when his mayster rebuketh him of hys fault he wyll geue hym .xx. wordes for one, els byd the deuils Pater noster in silence. This proude prating knaue wyll maintaine his naughtines when he is rebuked for them.

22 VNTHRIFTE.

Vnthrift, is he that wil not put his wearing clothes to washing, nor black his owne shoes, nor amend his his (*sic*) own wearing clothes. This rechles knaue wyl alway be lousy : and say that hee hath no more shift of clothes, and slaunder his Maister.

23 VNGRACIOUS.

Vngracious, is he *that* by his own will, will heare no maner of service, without he be compelled therunto by his rulers. This Knaue

wil sit at the alehouse drinking or playing at dice, or at other games at seruice tyme.

24 NUNQUAM.

Nunquam, is he that when his Maister sendeth him on his errand he wil not come againe of an hour or two where he might haue done it in halfe an houre or lesse. This knaue wil go about his owne errand or pastime and saith he cannot speede at the first.

25 INGRATUS.

Ingratus, is he that when one doth all that he can for him, he will scant geue him a good report for his labour. This knaue is so ingrate or vnkind, *that* he considreth not his frend from his fo, & wil requit euil for good & being put most in trust, wil sonest deceiue his maister.

FINIS.

 [leaf 9b.]

Imprinted at London by
 Iohn Awdeley dwelling
 in little Britaine streete
 without Aldersgate.

(. . .)



A Caueat or Warening,

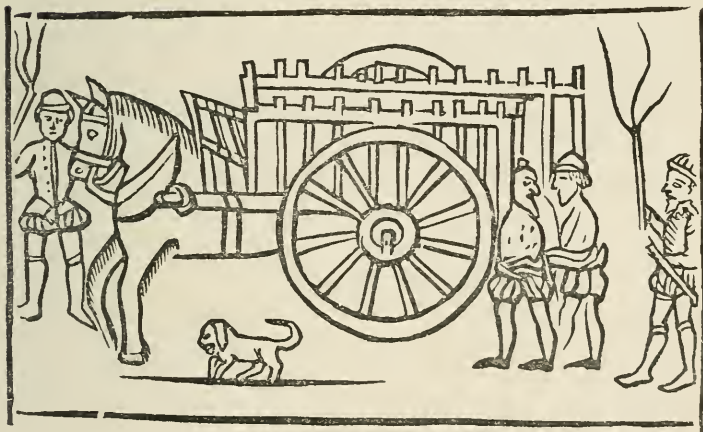
FOR COMMEN CVRSE-

TORS VVLGARELY CALLED

Vagabones, set forth by Thomas Harman,
Esquiere, for the vtilite and proffyt of his naturall
Cuntrey. Augmented and enlarged by the fyrst author here of.

Anno Domini. M.D.LXVII.

¶ Vewed, examined, and allowed, according vnto the
Queenes Maiestyes Iniunctions.



¶ Imprinted at London, in Fleetestrete, at the signe of the
Falcon, by Wylliam Gryffith, and are to be sold at his shoppe in
Sagnt Dunstones Churche garde, in the West.
Anno Domini. 1567.

[The Bodley edition of 1567 omits 'or Warening' in line 1, and 'Anno Domini. 1567.' at foot; and substitutes 'Newly Augmented and Imprinted' for 'Augmented . . . here of', line 6.]

[leaf 2]

¶ To the ryght honorable and my singular good Lady, Elizabeth Countes of Shrewsbury, Thomas Harman wisheth all ioye and perfite felicitie, here and in the worlde to come.

AS of Auncient and longe tyme there hath bene, and is now at this present, many good, godly, profitable lawes and actes made and setforthe in this most noble and floryshynge realme, for the reliefe, succour, comforte, and sustentacion of the poore, nedy, impotent, and myserable creatures beinge and inhabiting in all parts of the same ; So is there (ryght honorable and myne especyall good Lady) most holsum estatutes, ordinances, and necessary lawes, made, setforth, and publisshed, for the extreme punishment of all vagarantes and sturdy vacabons, as passeth throughe and by all parts of this famous yle, most idelly and wyckedly : and I wel, by good experience, vnderstandinge and consideringe your most tender, pytyfull, gentle, and noble nature,—not onely hauinge a vygelant and mercifull eye to your poore, indygente, and feable parishnores ; yea, not onely in the parishe where your honour moste happely doth dwell, but also in others inuyroninge or nighe adioyning to the same ; As also abundantly powringe out dayely your ardent and bountifull charytie vppon all such as commeth for reliefe vnto your luckly gates,—

I thought it good, necessary, and my bounden dutye, to acquaynte your goodnes with the abhominable, wycked, and detestable behauior of all these rowsey, ragged rabblement of rakehelles, that—vnder the pretence of great misery, dyseases, and other innumerable calamities

whiche they fayne—through great hipocrisie do wyn and gayne great almes in all places where they wyly wander, to the vtter deludinge of the good geuers, deceauinge and impouerishing of all such poore housholders, both sicke and sore, as nether can or maye walke abroad for reliefe and comforte (where, in dede, most mercy is to be shewed). And for that I (most honorable Lady), beinge placed as a poore gentleman, haue kepte a house these twenty yeares, where vnto pouerty dayely hath and doth repayre, not without some reliefe, as my poore callinge and habyltye maye and doth extende : I haue of late yeares gathered a great suspicion that all should not be well, and, as the prouerbe saythe, “sume thinge lurke and laye hyd that dyd not playnely apeare ;” for I, hauinge more occation, throughe sickenes, to tary and remayne at home then I haue bene acustomed, do, by my there abyding, talke ¹and confere dayly with many of these wyly wanderars of both sortes, as well men and wemmen, as boyes and gyrles, by whom I haue [leaf 2, back] gathered and vnderstande their depe dissimulation and detestable dealyng, beinge maruelous suttle and craftye in there kynde, for not one amongst twenty wyll discouer, eyther declare there seclorous secretes : yet with fayre flatteringe wordes, money, and good chere, I haue attained to the typ by such as the meanest of them hath wandred these xiii. yeares, and most xvi. and some twenty and vpward,² and not withoute faythfull promesse made vnto them neuer to discouer their names or any thinge they shewed me ; for they would all saye, yf the vpright men should vnderstand thereof, they should not be only greuouslye beaten, but put in daunger of their lyues, by the sayd vpright men. There was a fewe yeares since a small bréeffe setforth of some zelous man to his countrey, of whom I knowe not, that made a lytle shewe of there names and vsage, and gaue a glymsinge lyghte, not sufficient to perswade of their peuishe peltinge and pickinge³ practyses, but well worthy of prayse. But (good madame), with nolesse trauell then good wyll, I haue repayred and rygged the Shyp of knowledge, and haue hoyssed vp the sayles of good fortune, that

¹ leaf 2 b. Bodley edition (B).

² The severe Act against vagrants, Ed. VI., c. 3, was passed in 1548, only 19 years before the date of this 2nd edition.

³ The 1573 edition reads *pyinking*

she maye safely passe aboute and through all partes of this noble realme, and there make porte sale of her wysshed wares, to the confusion of their drowsey demener and vnlawfull language, pylfring pycking, wily wanderinge, and lykinge lechery, of all these rablement of rascals that raunges about al *the* costes of the same, So *that* their vndecent, dolefull dealing and execrable exercyses. may apere to all as it were in a glasse, that therby the Iusticers and Shrécues may in their circutes be more vygelant to punishe these malefactores, and the Counstables, Bayliffes, and bosholders,¹ settinge asyde all feare, slouth, and pytie, may be more circumspect in executing the charg geuen them by the aforesayd Iusticers. Then wyll no more this rascall rablement raunge about the countrey. Then greater reliefe may be shewed to *the* pouerty of eche parishe. Then shall we kepe our Horses in our pastures vnstolen. Then our lynnens clothes shall and maye lye safelye one our hedges vntouched. Then shall we not haue our clothes and lynnens hoked out at our wyndowes as well by day as by night. Then shall we not haue our houses broken vp in the night, as of late one of my nyghtbórs had and two great buckes of clothes stolen out, and most of the same fyne Lynnens. Then shall we safely kepe our pigges and poultreys from pylfring. Then shall we surely passe by ²*the* hygh waies leading to markets and fayres vnharmed. Then shall our Shopes and bothes be vnpycked and spoyled. Then shall these vncomly companies be dispersed and set to labour for their lyuinge, or hastely hang for [leaf 3] their demerites. Then shall it incourrage a great number of gentle men and others, seing this securitie, to set vp houses and kepe hospitalytie in the countrey, to the comfort of their neighboures, releife of the poore, and to the amendement of the common welth. Then shall not sinne and wickednes so much abound among vs. Then wil gods wrath be much *the* more pacified towards vs. Then shall we not tast of so many and sondry plagues, as now dayely raigneth ouer vs. And then shall this Famous Empyre be in more welth and better florysh, to the inestymable ioye and comfort of the Quenes most excelent maiestye, whom god of his

¹ So printed in both 1567 editions. 1573 reads *housholders*; but *Bors-holders* is doubtless meant.

² leaf 3. B.

infynite goodnes, to his great glory, long and many yeares make most prosperously to raygne ouer vs, to the great Felycitye of all the Peres and Nobles, and to the vnspeakable ioye, releife, and quietnes of minde, of all her faythfull Commons *and* Subiectes. Now, me thinketh, I se how these peuysh, peruerse, and pestilent people begyn to freat, fume, sweare, and stare at this my booke, their lyfe being layd open and aparantly paynted out, that their confusion and end draweth one a pase. Where as in dede, if it be well waied, it is set forth for their synguler profyt and commoditie, for the sure safegard of their lyues here in this world, that they shorten not the same before ¹ their time, and that by their true labour and good lyfe, in the world to com they may saue their Soules, that Christ, the second person in [the] Trinytie, hath so derely bought *with* his most precious bloud : so that hereby I shall do them more good then they could haue deuised for them selues. For behold, their lyfe being so manyfest wycked and so aparantlye knowen, The honorable wyl abhore them, The worshipfull wyl reiecte them, The yemen wyl sharplye tawnte them, The Husband men vtterly defye them, The laboryng men bluntly chyde them, The women with a loud exclamation ² wonder at them, And all Children with clappinge handes crye out at them. I manye times musing with my selfe at these mischeuous misliuers, merueled when they toke their oryginall *and* beginning ; how long they haue exercised their execrable wandring about. I thought it méete to confer with a very old man that I was well acquaynted with, whose wyt *and* memory is meruelous for his yeares, beinge about the age of fourescore, what he knewe when he was yonge of these lousey leuterars. And he shewed me, that when he was yonge he wayted vpon a man of much worshyp in Kent, who died immediatly after the last Duke of Buckingham was beheaded : at his buryall there was such a number of beggers, besides poore housholders dwelling thereabouts, that vnneth they mighte lye or stande aboute the House : then was there [leaf 3, back] prepared for them a great and a large barne, and a great fat oxe sod out in Furmenty for them, with bread *and* drinke abundantly to furnesh out the premisses ; and euery person had two pence, for such was the

¹ Printed "*brfore*"

² *reclamation. B.*

dole. When Night approched, *the* pore housholders repaired home to their houses: the other wayfaring bold beggers remained alnight in *the* barne; and the same barne being serched with light in the night by this old man (and then yonge), with¹ others, they tolde seuen score persons of men, euery of them hauing his woman, except it were two women that lay alone to gether for some especyall cause. Thus hauing their makes to make mery withall, the buriall was turned to bousing *and* belly chere, morning to myrth, fasting to feasting, prayer to pastyme *and* pressing of papes, and lamenting to Lechery. So that it may apere this vncomly company hath had a long continuance, but then nothinge geuen so much to pylferinge, pyckinge, and spoyling; and, as far as I can learne or vnderstand by the examination of a number of them, their languag—which they terme peddelars Frenche or Canting—began but within these xxx. yeeres,² lytle aboue; and that the first inuenter therof was hanged, all saue the head; for that is the fynall end of them all, or els to dye of some filthy and horyble diseases: but much harme is don in the meane space by their continuance, as some x., xii., and xvi. yeares before they be consumed, and the number of them doth dayly renew. I hope their synne is now at the hyghest; and that as short and as speddy a redresse wylbe for these, as hath bene of late yeres for *the* wretched, wily, wandering vagabonds calling and naming them selues Egiptians, depely dissembling and long hyding *and* couering their depe, decetfull practises,—feding the rude common people, wholly addicted and geuen to nouelties, toyes, and new inuentions,—delyting them with the strangenes of the attyre of their heades, and practising paulmistrie to such as would know their fortunes: And, to be short, all theues and hores (as I may well wryt),—as some haue had true experience, a number can well wytnes, and a great sorte hath well felte it. And now (thankes bée to god), throughe wholsome lawes, and the due execution thereof, all be dispersed, banished,³ *and* the memory of them cleane extyngished; that when they bée once named here after, our Chyldren wyll muche meruell what kynd of people they were: and so, I trust, shal shortly happen of these.

¹ The 1573 edition reads *and*

² The 1573 edition here inserts the word *or*

³ *vanished*. B.

For what thinge doth chiefly cause these rowsey rakehelles thus to continue and dayly increase? Surely a number of wicked parsons that kéepe typlinge Houses in all shires, where they haue succour and reliefe; and what so euer they bring, they are sure to receaue money for ^[leaf 4] the same, for they sell good penyworthes. The byers haue *the* greatest gayne; yea, yf they haue nether money nor ware, they wylbe trusted; their credite is much. I haue taken a note of a good many of them, *and* wil send their names and dwelling-places to such Iusticers as dwelleth nere or next vnto them, that they by their good wisdomes may displace the same, and auctoryse such as haue honesty. I wyl not blot my boke with their names, because they be resident. But as for this fleting Fellowshyp, I haue truly setforth the most part of them that be doers at this present, with their names that they be knowene by. Also, I haue placed in the end therof their leud language, calling the same pedlers French or Canting. And now shal I end my prologue, makinge true declaration (right honorable Lady) as they shal fall in order of their vntymelye tryfeling time, leud lyfe, and pernitious practises, trusting that the same shall neyther trouble or abash your most tender, tymorous, and pytifull Nature, to thinke the smal mede should growe vnto you for such Almes so geuen. For god, our marcifull and most louing father, well knoweth your hartes and good intent,—the geuer neuer wanteth his reward, according to the sayinge of Saynt Augustyn: as there is (neyther shalbe) any synne vnpunished, euen so shall there not be eny good dede vnrewarded. But how comfortably speaketh Christ our Sauour vnto vs in his gospel (“geue ye, and it shalbe geuen you againe”): behold farther, good Madam, that for a cup of colde water, Christ hath promised a good reward. Now saynt Austen properly declareth why Christ speaketh of colde water, because the poorest man that is shall not excuse him selfe from that cherytable warke, least he would, parauenture, saye that he hath neyther wood, pot, nor pan to warme any water with. Se, farther, what god speaketh in the mouth of his prophet, Esaye, “breake thy bread to him that is a hongred;” he sayth not geue him a hole lofe, for paraduenture the poore man hath it not to geue, then let him geue a peece. This much is sayd because the poore that hath it should not

be excused : now how much more then the riche ? Thus you se, good
madam, for your treasure here dispersed, where nede and lacke
is, it shalbe heaped vp abundantly for you in heauen,
where neither rust or moth shall corrupt or destroy
the same. Vnto which tryumphant place, after
many good, happy, and fortunat yeres pros-
perouslye here dispended. you maye for
euer and euer there most ioyfully
remayne. A men.

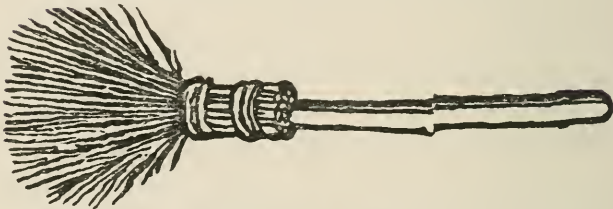
¶¶ *FINIS.*

Thre things to be noted
A staff, a béesom, and

all in their kynde
wyth, that wyll wynde



¶ A béesome of byrche, for babes very feete,¹
A longe lastinge lybbet for loubbers as méete
A wyth to wynde vp, that these wyll not kéepe
Bynde all up in one, and vse it to swéepe



[This page is printed at the back of the title page in Bodley edition.]

¹ *fytt.* B.

¶ THE EPISTLE TO THE READER.

[leaf 5]

AL though, good Reader, I wright in plain termes—and not so playnly as truely—concerning the matter, meaning honestly to all men, and wyshe them as much good as to myne owne harte; yet, as there hathe bene, so there is now, and hereafter wylbe, curyous heds to finde fautes: wherefore I thought it necessary, now at this seconde Impression, to acquaynt *the* with a great faulte, as some takethe it, but none¹ as I meane it, callinge these Vagabonds Cursetors in the intytelynge of my booke, as runneres or rangers aboute the countrey, deriued of this Laten word (*Curro*): neither do I wryght it Cooresetores, with a duple² oo; or Cowresetors, with a w, which hath an other singnification: is there no deuersite betwen a gardein and a garden, maynteynaunce *and* maintenance, Streytes and stretes? those that haue vnderstanding knowe there is a great dyfference: who is so ignorant by these dayes as knoweth not the meaning of a vagabone? and yf an ydell leuterar should be so called of eny man, would not he think it bothe odyous and reprochefull? wyll he not shonne the name? ye, and where as he maye and dare, *with* bent browes, wyll reueng that name of Ingnomy: yet this playne name vagabone is deryued, as others be, of Laten wordes, and now vse makes it commen to al men; but let vs loke back four .C. yeres sithens, *and* let vs se whether this playn word vagabon was vsed or no. I beleue not, and why? because I rede of no such name in the old estatutes of this realme, vnles it be in the margente of the booke, or in the Table, which in the collection and pryntinge was set in; but these were then the commen names of these leud leuterars, Faytores, Robardesmen, Drawlatches, *and* valyant beggares. Yf I should haue vsed suche wordes, or the same order of wryting, as this realme vsed in Kynge Henry the thyrd or Edward *the* fyrstes tyme, oh, what a grose, barberous fellow [leaf 5, back] haue we here! his wryting is both homely and darke, that wee had nede to haue an interpretar: yet then it was verye well, and in short season a great change we see: well, this delycat age shall haue his tyme on the

¹ The 1573 ed. reads *not*.² This word is omitted in the 1573 ed.

other syde. Eloquence haue I none ; I neuer was acquaynted with the muses ; I neuer tasted of Helycon. But accordinge to my playne order, I haue setforth this worke, symplye and truelye, with such vsual words and termes as is among vs wel known and frequented. So that as *the* prouerbe saythe, “all though truth be blamed, it shal neuer be shamed.” well, good reader, I meane not to be tedyous vnto the, but haue added fyue or sixe more tales, because some of them weare donn whyle my booke was fyrste in the presse ; and as I truste I haue deserued no rebuke for my good wyll, euen so I desyre no prayse for my payne, cost, and trauell. But faithfullye for the proffyt and benyfyt of my countrey I haue don it, that the whole body of the Realme may se and vnderstand their leud lyfe and pernicious practisses, that all maye spedelye helpe to amend that is amysse. Amen saye all with me.

Finis

¶ A RUFFLER. Ca. 1.¹

[leaf 6]

THE Rufflar, because he is first in degre of this odious order : And is so called in a statute made for the punishment of Vacabonds, In the xxvij. yeare of Kyng Henry the eight, late of most famous memory : Hée shall be first placed, as the worthiest of this vnruely rablement. And he is so called when he goeth first abroad ; eyther he hath serued in the warres, or els he hath bene a seruinge man ; and, weary of well doing, shakinge of all payne, doth chuse him this ydle lyfe, and wretchedly wanders aboute the most shyres of this realme. And with stout audacyte, ²demaundeth where he thinketh hée maye be bolde, and circumspecte ynough, as he sethe cause to aske charitie, rufully and lamentably, that it would make a flyntey hart to relent, and pytie his miserable estate, howe he hath bene maymed and broused in the warres ; *and*, parauenture, some wyll shew you some outward wounde, whiche he gotte at some dronken fraye, eyther haltinge of some preuye wounde festred with a fylthy firy flankard. For be well assured that the hardist souldiers be eyther slayne or maymed, eyther and³ they escape all hassardes, and retourne home agayne, if they bée without reliefe of their friends, they wyl surely desperatly robbe and steale, and ⁴eyther shortlye be hanged or miserably dye in pryson ; for they be so much ashamed and disdayne to beg or aske charity, that rather they wyll as desperatlye fight for to lyue and mayntayne them selues, as manfully and valyantly they ventred them selues in the Prynces quarell. Now these Rufflars, the out castes of seruing men, when begginge or crauinge fayles, then they pycke and pylfer, from other inferiour beggeres that they méete by the waye, as Roages, Pallyardes, Mortes, and Dokes. Yea, if they méete with a woman alone ridinge to the market, eyther olde man or boye, that hée well knoweth wyll not resiste, such they filche and spoyle. These rufflars, after a yeare or two at the farthest, become vpryght men, vnlesse they be preuented by twind hempe.

¹ The chapters are not noted in the Bodley ed.² The 1573 ed. here inserts the word *he*³ 1573 reads *if*⁴ 1573 has *or*

{ I had of late yeares an old man to my tennant, who custom-
ably a greate tyme went twice in the wéeke to London, eyther
wyth fruite or with pescodes, when tyme serued therefore. And as
he was comminge homewarde on blacke heathe, at the end thereof
next to shotars hyl, he ouer tooke two rufflars, the one manerly wayt-
ing on the other, as one had ben the maister, *and* the other the man
or seruant, [leaf 6, back] caryinge his maisteres cloke. this olde man was
verye glad that hee might haue their company ouer the hyl, because
that day he had made a good market; for hée had seuen shyll-
linges in his purse, and a nolde angell, which this poore man had
thought had not bene in his purse, for hée wylled his wyfe ouer
night to take out the same angell, and laye it vp vntyll his comminge
home agayne. And he verely thought that his wyfe had so don,
whiche in dede for got to do it. Thus after salutations had, this
maister rufflar entered into communication with this simple olde
man, who, ridinge softlye beside them, commoned of many matters.
Thus fedinge this old man with pleasaunt talke, vntyll they weare
one the toppe of the hyll, where these rufflares might well beholde
the coaste about them cleare, Quiclye stepes vnto this poore man,
and taketh holde of his horse brydell, and leadeth him in to the
wode, and demaundeth of him what and how much money he had
in his purse. "Now, by my troth," quoth this old man; "you are
a merye gentle man. I knowe you meane not to take a waye anye
thinge from me, but rather to geue me some if I shoulde aske it of
you." By and by, this seruant thiefe casteth the cloke that he caried
on his arme about this poore mans face, that he should not marke or
vew them, with sharpe words to delyuer quicly that he had, and to
confesse truly what was in his purse. This poore man, then all
abashed, yelded, and confessed that he had but iust seuen shyllinges
in his purse; and the trouthe is he knew of no more. This old
angell was falen out of a lytle purse into the botome of a great purse.
Now, this seuen shyllings in whyte money they quickly founde,
thinkinge in dede that there had bene no more; yet farther groping
and searchinge, found this old angell. And with great admiration,
this gentleman thyefe begane to blesse hym, sayinge, "good lorde,
what a worlde is this! howe maye" (quoth hée) "a man beleue

or truste in the same? se you not" (quoth he) "this old knaue tolde me that he had but seuen shyllings, and here is more by an angell: what an old knaue and a false knaue haue we here!" quoth this rufflar; "oure lorde haue mercy on vs, wyll this worlde neuer be better?"—and there with went their waye. And lefte the olde man in the wood, doinge him no more harme. But sorowfully sighinge, this olde man, returning home, declared his misaduenture, with all the words and circumstaunces aboue shewed. Wherat, for the tyme was great laughing, and this poore man for his losses among his louing neighbours well considered in the end.

¶ A VPRIGHT MAN. Ca. 2.

[leaf 7] **A**Vpright¹ man, the second in secte of this vnsemely sorte, must be next placed, of these rainginge rablement of rascales; some be seruing men, artificers, and laboryng men traded vp in husbandry. These not mindinge to get their lyuinge with the swete of their face, but casting of all payne, wyll wander, after their wycked maner, through the most shyres of this realm,—

{ As Sommerset shyre, Wylshire, Barke shyre, Oxforde shyre,
 { Harfordeshyre, Myddilsex, Essex, Suffolke, Northfolke, Sussex, Surrye, and Kent, as the cheyfe and best shyres of reliefe. Yea, not with out punishment by stockes, whyppinges, and imprisonment, in most of these places aboue sayde. Yet, not with standinge they haue so good lykinge in their lewed, lecherous loytering, that full quiclye all their punishmentes is² for gotten. And repentaunce is neuer thought vpon vntyll they clyme thrée tres with a ladder. These vnrewly rascales, in their roylinge, disperse them selues into seuerall companyes, as occation serueth, sometyme more and somtyme lesse. As, if they repayre to a poore husbandmans house, hée wyll go a lone, or one with him, and stoutely demandaund his charytie, eyther shewing how he hath serued in the warres, and their maymed, eyther that he sekethe seruice, and saythe that he woulde be glad to take payne for hys lyuinge, althoughe he meaneth nothinge lesse.

¹ Printed "*vpreght*," *vpriight* in Bodley ed.

² 1573, *be*

Yf he be offered any meate or drynke, he vtterlye refuseth the scornefully, and wyll nought but money; and yf he espye yong pyges or pultry, he well noteth the place, and they the next night, or shortly after, hée wyll be sure to haue some of them, whyche they brynge to their stawlinge kens, which is their typplyng houses, as well knowen to them, according to the olde prouerbe, “as the begger knowes his dishe.” For you must vnderstand, euery Typplyng ale house wyll neyther receiue them or their wares, but some certayne houses in euery shyre, especially for that purpose, where they shalbe better welcome to them then honester men. For by such haue they most gayne, and shalbe conuayde eyther into some loft out of the waye, or other secret corner not commen to any other; and thether repayre, at accustomed tymes, their harlots, whiche they terme Mortes and Doxes,—not with emty hands; for they be as skilfull in picking, riffling, *and* filching as the vpright men, and nothing inferior to them in all kind of wyckednes, as in other places hereafter they shalbe touched. At these foresayde peltinge, peuish places and vnmannerly metinges, O! how the pottes walke about! their talking tounges talke at large. They bowle and bouse one to another, and for the tyme bousing belly chere. And after there ruysting recreation, [leaf 7, back] yf there be not rome ynough in the house, they haue cleane strawe in some barne or backehouse nere adioyning, where they couch comly to gether, and ¹ it were dogge and byche; and he that is hardyste maye haue his choyse, vnlesse for a lytle good maner; some wyll take there owne that they haue made promyse vnto, vntyll they be out of sight, and then, according to the old adage, “out of minde.” Yet these vpright men stand so much vpon their reputation, as they wyl in no case haue their wemen walke with them, but seperat them selues for a tyme, a moneth or more. And mete at fayres, or great markets, where they mete to pylfer and steale from staules, shoppes, or bothes. At these fayres the vpryght men vse commonly to lye *and* lingar in hye wayes by lanes, some prety way or distaunce from the place, by which wayes they be assured that compeny passeth styll two and fro. And ther they² wyll demaund, with cap in hand and comly curtesy, the deuotion and charity of the people. They

¹ 1573, *as*² *the*. B.

haue ben much lately whipped at fayrs. Yf they aske at a stout yemans or farmars house his charity, they wyll goe strong as thre or foure in a company. Where for feare more then good wyll, they often haue reliefe. they syldome or neuer passe by a Iustices house, but haue by wayes, vnlesse he dwell alone, and but weakely manned ; thether wyll they also go strong, after a slye, suttile sorte, as with their armes bounde vp with kercher or lyste, hauinge wrapte about the same filthy clothes, either their legges in such maner be-wrapped halting down right. Not vnprouided of good codg[e]ls, which they cary to sustayne them, and, as they fayne, to kéepe gogges¹ from them, when they come to such good gentlemens houses. Yf any searche be made or they suspected for pylfring clothes of hedgges, or breaking of houses, which they commonly do when the owners bée eyther at the market, church, or other wayes occupied aboute their busines,—eyther robbe some sely man or woman by the hye waye, as many tymes they do,—Then they hygh them into wodes, great thickets, and other ruffe corners, where they lye lurkinge thre or foure dayes to gether, and haue meate and drinke brought them by theyre Mortes, and Doxes ; and whyle they thus lye hydden in couert, in the night they be not idle,—nether, as *the* common saying is, “ well occupied ;” for then, as the wyly foxe, crepinge out of his den, seketh his praye for pultery, so do these for lynnens and any thinge els worth money, that lyeth about or near a house. As somtyme a whole bucke of clothes caryed awaye at a tyme. When they haue a greatter booty then they maye cary awaye quickly to their stawling kendes, as is aboue sayd, They wyll hyde the same for a thre dayes in some thicke couert, and [leat s] in the night time carye the same, lyke good water Spanlles, to their foresayd houses. To whom they wyll discouer where or in what places they had the same, where the markes shalbe pycked out cleane, *and* conuayed craftely fare of, to sell. If the man or woman of the house want money *them* selues. ² If these vpright men haue nether money nor wares, at these houses they shalbe trusted for their vitales, and it amount to twentye or thirty shyllings. Yea, if it fortune any of these vpright men to be taken, either suspected, or charged with felony or petye

¹ *dogges. B.*² 1573 inserts *and*

brybrye, don at such a tyme or such a place, he wyll saye he was in his hostes house. And if the man or wyfe of that house be examined by an officer, they boldelye vouche, that the[y] lodged him suche a tyme, whereby the truth cannot appeare. And if they chaunce to be retained into seruice, through their lamentable words, with any welthy man, They wyll tary but a smale tyme, either robbing his maister or som of his fellowes. And some of them vseth this polocyte, that although they trauayle into al these shyres, aboue said, yet wyl they haue good credite, espiciallye in one shyre, where at diuers good farmars houses they be wel knowen, where they worke a moneth in a place or more, and wyll for that time behaue them selues very honestly *and* paynfully ; And maye at any tyme, for their good vsage, haue worke of them ; and to these at a ded lyft, or last refuge, they maye safely repayre vnto and be welcom, When in other places, for a knacke of knauery that they haue playd, thei dare not tary. These vyright men wil sildom or neuer want ; for what is gotten by anye Mort, or Doxe, if it please him, hée doth comaunde the same. And if he mete any begger, whether he be sturdye or impotent, he wyll demaund of him, whether euer he was stalled to the roge or no. If he saye he was, he wyll know of whom, and his name *that* stalled hym. And if he be not learnedly able to shewe him the whole circumstaunce thereof, he wyll spoyle him of his money, either of his best garment, if it be worth any money, and haue him to the bowsing ken, Which is to some typpling house next adioyninge ; and laieth their to gage the best thing that he hath for twenty pence or two shyllinges : this man obeyeth for feare of beating. Then doth this vpright man call for a gage of bowse, whiche is a quarte pot of drinke, and powres the same vpon his peld pate, adding these words :—" I. G. P. do stalle thée W. T. to the Roge, and that from hence forth it shall be lawefull for the to Cant"—that is, to aske or begge—"for thy liuing in al places." Here you se *that* the vpright man is of great auctorite. For all sortes of beggers are obedient to his hests, and surmounteth all others in pylfiring and stealinge. ¶ I lately had standinge in my [leaf 8, back] well house, which standeth on the backside of my house, a great cawdron of copper, beinge then full of water, hauinge in the same halfe a doson

of pewter dyshes, well marked, and stamped with the connizance of my armes, whiche being well noted when they were taken out, were set a side, the water powred out, and my caudren taken awaye, being of such bygnes that one man, vnlesse he were of great strength, was not able far to cary the same. Not withstandinge, the same was one night within this two yeares conuayed more then half a myle from my house, into a commen or leth, And ther bestowed in a great fir-bushe. I then immediatly the next day sent one of my men to London, and there gaue warning in Sothwarke, kent strete, and Barmesey stréete, to all the Tynckars there dwelling,—That if any such Caudron came thether to be sold, the bringar therof should be stayed, and promised twenty shyllings for a reward. I gaue also intelligence to the water men that kept the ferres, that no such vessel should be ether conuayd to London or into essex, promysing the lyke reward, to haue vnderstanding therof. This my doing was well vnderstand in many places about, and that the feare of espyinge so troubled *the* conscience of the stealer, that my caudoren laye vntouched in the thicke firbushe more then halfe a yeare after, which, by a great chaunce, was found by hunteres for conneys; for one chaunced to runne into the same bushe where my caudren was, and being perceaued, one thrust his staffe into the same bushe, and hyt my caudren a great blowe, the sound whereof dyd cause the man to thinke and hope that there was some great treasure hidden, wherby he thought to be the better whyle he lyued. And in farther searching he found my caudren; so had I the same agayne vnlooked for.

¶ A HOKER, OR ANGGLEAR. Cap. 3.

THese hokers, or Angglers, be peryllous and most wicked knaues, and be deryued or proceded forth from the vpright men; they comenly go in frese ierkynes and gally slopes, poynted benethe the kne; these when they practise there pylfringe, it is all by night; for, as they walke a day times from house to house, to demaund charite, they vigelantly marke where or in what place they maye attayne to there praye, easting there eyes vp to euery wyndow, well noting what they se their, whether apparell or linnen, hanginge nere vnto the sayde wyndowes, and that wyll they

be sure to haue *the* next night folowing ; for they customably carry with them a staffe of v. or vi. foote long, in which, within one ynch of *the* tope therof, ys a lytle hole bored through, [near 9] in which hole they putte an yron hoke, and with the same they wyl pluck vnto them quickly any thing *that* they may reche ther with, which hoke in the day tyme they couertly cary about them, and is neuer sene or taken out till they come to the place where they worke there fete : such haue I sene at my house, and haue oft talked with them and haue handled ther staues, not then vnderstanding to what vse or intent they serued, although I hadde and perceiued, by there talke and behauiour, great lykelyhode of euyl suspition in them : they wyl ether leane vppon there staffe, to hyde the hole thereof, when they talke with you, or holde their hande vpon the hole ; and what stuffe, either wollen or lynnene, they thus hoke out, they neuer carye the same forth with to their stauylng kens, but hides the same a iij. daies in some secret corner, *and* after conuayes the same to their houses abouesaid, where their host or hostys geueth them money for the same, but halfe the value that it is worth, or els their doxes shall a farre of sell the same at the like houses. I was credibly informed that a hoker came to a farmers house in the ded of the night, and putting back a drawe window of a low chamber, the bed standing hard by the sayd wyndow, in which laye three parsones (a man and two bygge boyes), this hoker with his staffe plucked of their garments which lay vpon them to kepe them warme, with the couerlet and shete, and lefte them lying a slepe naked sauing there shertes, and had a way all clene, and neuer could vnderstande where it became. I verely suppose that when they wer wel waked with cold, they suerly thought that Robin goodfelow (accordiunge to the old saying) had bene with them that night.

¶ A ROGE. Cap. 4.

ARoge is neither so stoute or hardy as the vpright man. Many of them will go fayntly and looke piteously when they see, either méete any person, hauing a kercher, as white as my shooes, tyed about their head, with a short staffe in their hand, haltinge, although they nede not, requiring almes of such as they

méeete, or to what house they shal com. But you may easily perceiue by their colour *that* thei cary both health and hipocrisie about them, wherby they get gaine, when others want that cannot fayne and dissemble. Others therebee that walke sturdely about *the* countrey, *and* faineth to seke a brother or kinsman of his, dwelling within som part of *the* shire ;—ether that he hath a letter to deliuer to som honest housholder, dwelling out of an other Shyre, and will shewe you the same fayre sealed, with the superscription to [leaf 9, back] the partye he speaketh of, because you shall not thinke him to runne idelly about the countrey ;—either haue they this shyfte, they wyll cary a cirtificate or pasport about them from som Iusticer of the peace, with his hand and seale vnto the same, howe hée hath bene whipped and punished for a vacabonde according to the lawes of this realme, and that he muste returne to .T., where he was borne or last dwelt, by a certayne daye lymited in the same, whiche shalbe a good longe daye. And all this fayned, bycause without feare they woulde wyckedly wander, and wyll renue the same where or when it pleasethe them ; for they haue of their affinity that can wryte and read. These also wyll picke and steale as the vpright men, and hath their women and metinges at places apoynted, and nothinge to them inferiour in all kynde of knauery. There bée of these Roges Curtales, wearinge shorte clokes, that wyll chaunge their aparell, as occation serueth. And their end is eyther hanginge, whiche they call trininge in their language, or die miserably of the pockes.

¶ There was not long sithens two Roges that alwaies did associate them selues together, *and* would neuer seperat them selues, vules it were for some especiall causes, for they were sworn brothers, *and* were both of one age, and much like of favour : these two, traueling into east kent, resorted vnto an ale house there,¹ being weried with traueling, saluting with short curtisey, when they came into the house, such as thei sawe sitting there, in whiche company was the parson of the parish ; and callinge for a pot of the best ale, sat downe at the tables ende : the lykor liked them so well, that they had pot vpon pot, and sometyme, for a lytle good maner, would drinke and offer the cup to such as they best fancied ; and to be short, they sat

¹ 1573 omits.

out al the company, for eche man departed home aboute their busines. When they had well refreshed them selues, then these rowsy roges requested the good man of the house wyth his wyfe to sit downe and drinke with them, of whome they inquired what priest the same was, and where he dwelt: then they fayninge that they had an vncle a priest, and that he should dwel in these partes, which by all presumptions it should be he, and that they came of purpose to speake with hym, but because they had not sene hym sithens they were sixe yeares olde, they durst not be bold to take acquayntance of him vntyl they were farther instructed of the truth, and began to inquier of his name, and how longe he had dwelt there, and how farre his house was of from *the* place they were in: the good wyfe of the house, thynkinge them honest men without disceit, because they so farre enqyred of their kinseman, was but of a good zelous natural intent, shewed them cherefully that hee [leaf 10] was an honest man *and* welbeloued in the parish, and of good welth, *and* had ben there resident xv. years at the least; "but," saith she, "are you both brothers?" "yea, surely," said they, "we haue bene both in one belly, *and* were twiunnes." "Merey, god!" quoth this folish woman; "it may wel be, for ye be not much vnlike,"—and wente vnto her hall windowe, callinge these yong men vnto her, and loking out therat,¹ pointed with her fingar *and* shewed them the house standing alone, no house nere the same by almoste a quarter of a myle; "that," sayd² she, "is your vncles house." "Nay," saith one of them, "he is not onely my vncle, but also my godfather." "It may well be," quoth she, "nature wyll bind him to be the better vnto you." "Well," quoth they, "we be weary, and meane not to trouble our vncle to-night; but to-morowe, god willinge, we wyll see him and do our duty: but, I pray you, doth our vncle occupy husbandry? what company hath he in his house." "Alas!" saith she, "but one old woman *and* a boy, he hath no occupying at al: tushe," quoth this good wyfe, "you be mad men; go to him this night, for hee hath better lodging for you then I haue, *and* yet I speake folishly against my³ own profit, for by your taring⁴ here I should gaine *the* more by you." "Now, by my troth," quoth one of them, "we thanke

¹ 1573 omits.² saith. B.³ 1573, *myne*⁴ *tarying*. B.

you, good hostes, for your holsome counsell, and we meane to do as you wyll vs: we wyl pause a whyle, and by that tyme it wylbe almost night; *and* I praye you geue vs a reckeninge,”—so, manerly paying for that they toke, bad their hoste and hostes farewell with takinge leaue of the cup, marched merelye out of the dores towardes this parsones house, vewed the same well rounde about, and passed by two bowshotes of into a younge wodde, where they laye consultinge what they shoulde do vntyll midnight. Quoth one of them, of sharper wyt and subtyller then the other, to hys fellowe, “thou seest that this house is stone walled about, and that we cannot well breake in, in any parte thereof; thou seest also that the windowes be thicke of mullions, that ther is no kreping in betwene: wherefore we must of necessitye vse some polieye when strength wil not serue. I haue a horse locke here about me,” saith he; “and this I hope shall serue oure turne.” So when it was aboute xii. of the clocke, they came to the house and lurked nere vnto his chamber wyndowe: the dog of the house barked a good, that with they¹ noise, this priest waketh out of his sleepe, and began to cough and hem: then one of these roges stepes forth nerer the window *and* maketh a ruful *and* pityful noise, requiring for Christ sake² some reliefe, that was both hongry and thirstye, and was like to ly with out the dores all nighte and starue for colde, vnles he were releued by him with some small peece of money. “Where dwellest thou?” quoth this parson. “Alas! sir,” saithe this roge, “I haue smal [leaf 10, back] dwelling, and haue com out of my way; and I should now,” saith he, “go to any towne nowe at this time of night, they woulde set me in the stockes and punishe me.” “Well,” quoth this pitifull parson, “away from my house, either lye in some of my out houses vntyll the morning, and holde, here is a couple of pence for thee.” “A god rewarde you,” quoth this roge; “and in heauen may you finde it.” The parson openeth his wyndowe, and thrusteth out his arme to geue his almes to this Roge that came whining to receiue it, and quickly taketh holde of his hand, and calleth his fellowe to him, whiche was redye at hande with the horse locke, and clappeth the same about the wrest of his arme, that the mullions standing so close together for strength, that for his

¹ So printed. Bodley ed. has *the*² *sakes*. B.

life he could not plucke in his arme againe, and made him beleue, vnles he would at the least geue them .iii. li., they woulde smite of his arme from the body. So that this poore parson, in feare to lose his hand, called vp his olde woman that lay in the loft ouer him, and wylled her to take out all the money he had, which was iiij. markes, which he saide was all the money in his house, for he had lent vi. li. to one of his neighbours not iiij daies before. "Wel," quoth they, "master parson, if you haue no more, vpon this condicion we wil take of the locke, that you will drinke .xij. pence for our sakes to-morow at the alehouse wher we found you, and thank the good wife for the good chere she made vs." He promised faithfully that he would so do; so they toke of the locke, and went their way so farre ere it was daye, that the parson coulede neuer haue any vnderstanding more of them. Now this parson, sorowfully slumbering that night betwene feare and hope, thought it was but folly to make two sorrowes of one; he vsed contentacion for his remedy, not forgetting in the morning to performe his promise, but went betims to his neighbour that kept tiplinge, and asked angerly where the same two men were that dranke with her yester daye. "Which two men?" quoth this good wife. "The straungers that came in when I was at your house wyth my neighbores yesterday." "What! your neuewes?" quoth she. "My neuewes?" quoth this parson; "I trowe thou art mad." "Nay, by god!" quoth this good¹ wife, "as sober as you; for they tolde me faithfully that you were their vncle: but, in fayth, are you not so in dede? for, by my trouth, they are strau[n]gers to me. I neuer saw them before." "O, out vpon them!" quoth the parson; "they be false theues, and this night thei compelled me to geue them al the money in my house." "Benedicite!" quoth this good wife, "and haue they so in dede? as I shall aunswere before god, one of them told me besides that you were godfather to him, and that he trusted to haue your blessinge before he departed." "What! did he?" quoth this parson; "a halter blesse him for [leaf 11] me!" "Me thinketh, by the masse, by your countenance you loked so wildly when you came in," quoth this good wife, "that somthing was amis." "I vse not to gest,"

¹ Omitted in 1573.

quoth this parson, "when I speake so earnestly." "Why, all your sorrowes goe with it," quoth this good wife, "and sitte downe here, and I will fil a freshe pot of ale shall make you mery agayne." "Yea," saith this parson, "fill in, *and* geue me some meat; for they made me sweare and promise them faithfully that I shoulde drinke xii. pence with you this day." "What! dyd they?" quoth she; "now, by the mary masse, they be mery knaues. I warraunt you they meane to bye no land with your money; but how could they come into you in the night, your dores being shut fast? your house is very stronge." Then this prason¹ shewed her all the hole circumstance, how he gaue them his almes oute at the wyndowe, they² made such lamentable crye that it pytied him at the hart; for he sawe but one when he put oute his hand at the windowe. "Be ruled by me," quoth this good wyfe. "Wherin?" quoth this parson. "By my troth, neuer speake more of it: when they shal vnderstand of it in the parish, they wyll but laugh you to skorne." ³"Why, then," quoth this parson, "the deuyll goe with it,"—and their an end.³

¶ A WYLDE ROGE. Cap. 5.

A Wilde Roge is he that is borne a Roge: he is a more subtil and more geuen by nature to all kinde of knauery then the other, as beastely begotten in barne or bushes, and from his infaneye traded vp in trechery; yea, and before ripenes of yeares doth permyt, wallowinge in lewde lechery, but that is counted amongst them no sin. For this is their custome, that when they mete in barne at night, euery one getteth a make⁴ to lye wythall, *and* their chaunce to be twentye in a companye, as their is sometyme more and sometyme lesse: for to one man that goeth abroad, there are at the least two women, which neuer make it straunge when they be called, although she neuer knewe him before. Then when the day doth appeare, he rouses him vp, and shakes his cares, and awaye wanderinge where he may gette oughte to the hurte of others. Yet before he skypeth oute of hys couche and departeth from his darling, if he like her well, he will apoint her where to mete shortlye

¹ so printed.²⁻³ Why end. B. omits.² *the*. B.⁴ 1573 reads *m⁴*

after, with a warninge to worke warely for some chetes, that their meting might be the merier.

¶ Not long sithens, a wild roge chaunced to mete a pore neighbour of mine, who for honesty *and* good natur surmounteth many. This poore man, riding homeward from London, where he had made his market, this [leaf 11, back] roge demaunded a peny for gods sake, to kepe him a true man. This simple man, beholding him wel, and sawe he was of taule personage with a good quarter staffe in his hand, it much pitied him, as he sayd, to se him want; for he was well able to serue his prince in the wars. Thus, being moued with pytie, and¹ loked in his pursse to finde out a peny; and in loking for the same, he plucked oute viii. shyllinges in whyte money, and raked therin to finde a single peny; and at the last findinge one, doth offer the same to this wylde roge: but he, seinge so much mony in this simple mans hand, being striken to the hart with a couetous desire, bid him forth wyth delyuer al that he had, or els he woulde with his staffe beat out his braynes. For it was not a peny would now quench his thirst,² seing so much as he dyd²: thus, swallowinge his spittell gredely downe, spoyled this poore man of al *the* money that he had, and lept ouer the hedge into a thicke wode, and went his waye as merely as this good simple man came home sorowfully. I once rebuking a wyld roge because he went idelly about, he shewed me that he was a begger by enheritance—his Grandfather was a begger, his father was one, and he must nedes be one by good reason.

¶ A PRYGGER OF PRAUNCERS. Cap. 6.

A Prigger of Prauncers be horse stealers; for to prigge signifieth in their language to steale, *and* a Prauncer is a horse: so beinge put together, the matter is³ playne. These go commonly in Ierkins of leatherr, or of white frese, *and* carry litle wands in their hands, and will walke through grounds and pastures, to search and se horses meete for their purpose. And if thei chaunce to be met and asked by the owners of the grounde what they make there, they fayne strayghte that they haue loste their waye, and de-

¹ omitted in 1573.

²⁻² seing dyd. B. omits.

³ 1573, *was*

syre to be enstructed the beste waye to such a place. These will also repayre to gentlemens houses and aske their charitye, and wyll offer their service. And if you aske them what they can do, they wyll saye that they can kepe two or thre Geldinges, and waite vppon a Gentleman. These haue also their women, that walkinge from them in other places, marke where and what they see abroade, and sheweth these Priggars therof when they meete, which is with in a weeke or two. And loke, where they steale any thinge, they conuay the same at the least thre score miles of or more.

¶ There was a Gentleman, a verry friende of myne, rydyng from London homewarde into Kente, hauinge with in thre myles of his house busynesse, alyghted of his horse, and his man also, in a pretye [leaf 12] vyllage, where diueres houses were, and looked aboute hym where he myghte haue a conuenient person to walke his horse, because hee would speake *with* a Farmer that dwelt on the backe side of the sayde village, lytle aboute a quarter of a myle from the place where he lighted, and had his man to waight vpon him, as it was mete for his callinge: espying a Prygger there standing, thinking the same to dwell there, charging this prity prigginge person to walke his horse well, and that they might not stande styll for takyng of colde, and at his returne (which he saide should not be longe) he would geue hym a peny to drinke, and so wente aboute his busines. This pelynge Priggar, proude of his praye, walkethe his horse¹ vp and downe tyll he sawe the Gentleman out of sighte, and leapes him into the saddell, and awaye he goeth a mayne. This Gentleman returninge, and findinge not his horses, sent his man to the one end of the vyllage, and he went himselfe vnto the other ende, and enquired as he went for his horses that were walked, and began some what to suspecte, because neither he nor his man could se nor find him. Then this Gentleman deligentlye enquired of thre or foure towne dwellers there whether any such person, declaring his stature,² age, apparell, with so many linaments of his body as he could call to remembraunce. And, “vna voce,” all sayde that no such man dwelt in their streate, neither in the parish, that they knewe of; but some did wel remember that such a one they saw there lyrkinge and hug-

¹ horses. B.

² Printed *statute*

geringe two houres before the Gentleman came thether, and a straunger to them. "I had thoughte," quoth this Gentleman, "he had here dwelled,"—and marched home manerly in his botes: farre from the place he dwelt not. I suppose at his comming home he sente suche wayes as he suspected or thought méete to searche for this Prigger, but hetherto he neuer harde any tydings agayne of his palfreys.—I had the best geldinge stolen oute of my pasture that I had amongst others whyle this boke was first a printinge.

¶ A PALLYARD. Cap. 7.

THese Palliardes be called also Clapperdogens: these go with patched clokes, *and* haue their Morts with them, which they cal wiues; and if he goe to one house, to aske his almes, his wife shall goe to a nother: for what they get (as bread, chéese, malte, and woll) they sell the same for redy money; for so they get more and if they went together. Although they be thus¹ deuided in the daie, yet they mete iompe at night. Yf they chaunce to come to some gentylmans house standinge [leaf 12, back] a lone, and be demaunded whether they be man and wyfe, *and* if he perceauē that any doubteth thereof, he sheweth them a Testimonial with the ministers name, and others of the same parishe (naminge a parishe in some shere fare distant from the place where he sheweth the same). This writing he carieth to salue that sore. Ther be many Irishe men that goe about with counterfeate licenses; and if they perceiue you wil straitly examen them, they will immediatly saye they can speake no Englishe.

¶ Farther, vnderstand for trouth that the worst and wickedst of all this beastly generation are scarse comparable to these prating Pallyardes. All for *the* most parte of these wil either lay to their legs an herb called Sperewort, eyther Arsnicke, which is called Ratesbane. The nature of this Spereworte wyll rayse a great blister in a night vpon the soundest part of his body; and if the same be taken away, it wyl dry vp againe and no harme. But this Arsnicke will so poyson the same legge or sore, that it will euer after be incurable: this do they for gaine and to be pitied. The most of these that walke about be Walchmen.

¹ Printed *this*

¶ A FRATER. Cap. 8.

SOME of these Fraters will cary blacke boxes at their gyrdel, wher in they haue a brieve of the Queenes maiesties letters patentes, genen to suche¹ poore spittlehouse for the reliefe of the poore there, whiche brieve is a coppie of the letters patentes, *and* vtterly fained, if it be in paper or in² parchement without the great seale. Also, if the same brief be in printe,³ it is also of auctoritie. For the Printers wil see *and* wel vnderstand, before it come in presse, that the same is lawfull. Also, I am credibly informed that the chiefe Proctors of manye of these houses, that seldome tranel abroad them selues, but haue their factors to gather for them, which looke very slenderly to the impotent and miserable creatures committed to their charge, *and* die for want of cherishing; wheras they *and* their wiues are wel crammed *and* clothed, *and* will haue of the best. And the founders of enery such house, or the chiefe of the parishe wher they be, woulde better see vnto these Proctors, that they might do their duty, they should be wel spoken of here, and in the world to come abundantly therefore rewarded. I had of late an honest man, and of good wealthe, repayred to my house to common wyth me aboute certeyne affaires. I inuited the same to dinner, and dinner beinge done, I demaunded of hym some newes of these⁴ parties were hee dwelte. “Thankes be to God, syr,” (saith he); “all is well *and* good now.” “Now!” (quoth I) “this same ‘nowe’ [leaf 13] declareth that some things of late hath not bene wel.” “Yes, syr,” (quoth he) “the⁵ matter is not great. I had thought I should haue bene wel beaten within this seuenth night.” “How so?” (quoth I). “Mary, syr,” sayd he, “I am Counstable for fault of a better, and was commaunded by the Iusticer to watch. The watch being set, I toke an honest man, one of my neighbors, with me, and went vp to the ende of the towne as far as the spittle house, at which house I heard a great noyse, and, drawing nere, stode close vnder the wall, and this was at one of the clocke after midnight.

¹ B. inserts *a*² B. omits *in*³ Probably the reason why “in print” came to be considered synonymous with “correct.” See 2 Gent. of Verona, act ii. sc. 1, 175.⁴ *those*. B.⁵ B. omits *the*

Where he harde swearing, pratinge, and wagers laying, and the pot apase walkinge, and xl. pence gaged vpon a matche of wrastling, pitching of the barre, and casting of the sledge. And out they goe, in a fustian fume, into the backe syde, where was a great Axiltrye,¹ and there fell to pitching of the barre, being thre to thre. The Moone dyd shine bright, the Counstable with his neighbour myght see and beholde all that was done. And howe the wyfe of the house was rostringe of a Pyg, whyle her gestes were in their matche. At the laste they coulede not agree vpon a caste, and fell at wordes, and from wordes to blowes. The Counstable with his² fellowe runnes vnto them, to parte them, and in the partinge lyckes a drye blowe or two. Then the noyse increased; the Counstable woulde haue had them to³ the stockes. The wyfe of the house runnes out with her goodman to intreat the Counstable for her gestes, and leaues the Pyg at the fyre alone. In commeth two or thre of the next neighboures, beinge waked wyth this noise, and into the house they come, and fynde none therein, but the Pygge well rosted, and carieth the same awaye wyth them, spyte and all, with suche breade and drinke also as stooode vpon the table. When the goodman and the goodwyfe of the house hadde intreated and pacified the Counstable, shewinge vnto him that they were Proctors and Factores all of Spyttell houses, and that they taryed there but to breake theyr fast, and woulde ryde awaye immediatlye after, for they had farre to goe, and therefore mente to ryde so earlye. And comminge into their house agayne, fyndinge the Pygge wyth bread and drinke all gonne, made a greate exclamation, for they knewe not who had the same.

¶ The Counstable returning and hearinge the lamentable wordes of the good wyfe, howe she had lost both meate and drinke, and sawe it was so in deede, hée laughed in his sleue, and commaunded her to dresse no more at vnlawfull houres for any gestes. For hée thought it better bestowed vpon those smell feastes his poore neigh-

¹ Castynge of axtre & eke of ston,
Sofere hem þere to vse non;
Bal, and barres, and suche play,
Out of chychezorde put a-way.—

Myre, p. 11, l. 334-7 (E. E. T. Soc. 1868)

² Printed *hts*

³ *to to. B.*

boures then vppon suche sturdye Lubbares. The nexte mornynge betymes the [leaf 13, back] spitte and pottes were sette at the Spittle house doore for the owner. Thus were these Factours begyled of theyr breakefast, and one of them hadde well beaten an other; "And, by my trowth," (quoth thys Counstable) "I was gladde when I was well ryd of them." "Why," quoth I, "coulede the[y] caste the barre and sledge well?" "I wyll tell you, syr," (quoth hée) "you knowe there hath bene manye games this Sommer. I thinke verely, that if some of these Lubbars had bene there, and practysed amongst others, I beleue they woulde haue carryed awaye the beste games. For they were so stronge and sturdye, that I was not able to stande in their handes." "Well" (quoth I) "at these games you speake of, both legges and armes bée tryed." "Yea," quoth this offyceer, "they bée wycked men. I haue séene some of them sithens wyth cloutes bounde aboute theyr legges, and haltynge wyth their staffe in their handes. Wherefore some of theym, by GOD, bee nought all."

¶ A ABRAHAM MAN. Cap. 9.

THese Abraham men be those that fayne themselves to haue bene mad, and haue bene kept eyther in Bethelem or in some other pryson a good tyme, *and* not one amongst twenty that euer came in pryson for any such cause: yet wyll they saye howe pitiously and most extreamely they haue bene beaten, and dealt with all. Some of these be merye and verye pleasant, they wyll daunce and sing; some others be as colde and reasonable to talke wyth all. These begge money; eyther when they come at Farmours howses they wyll demaunde Baken, eyther chéese, or wooll, or any thinge that is worthe money. And if they espye small company within, they wyll with fierce countenaunce demaund some what. Where for feare the maydes wyll geue theym largely to be ryd of theym.

{ ¶ If they maye conueniently come by any cheate, they wyl
 { picke and steale, as the v[p]right man or Roge, poultrej or lynnenn. And all wemen that wander bée at their commaundemente. Of all that euer I saw of this kynde, one naniuge him selfe Stradlynge is the craftiest and moste dyssemblyngest Knaue.

Ilée is able wyth hys tounge and vsage to deceaue and abuse the wysest man that is. And surely for the proporcion of his body, with euery member there vnto appertayninge, it cannot be a mended. But as the prouerbe is "God hath done his part." Thys Stradlyng sayth he was the Lord Sturtons man; and when he was executed, for very pensiuenes of mynde, [leaf 14] he fell out of his wytte, and so continued a yeaere after and more; and that with the very gréepe and feare, he was taken wyth a marucilous palsey, that both head and handes wyll shake when he talketh, with anye and that a pase or fast, where by he is much pytied, and getteth greatly. And if I had not demaunded of others, bothe men and women, that commonly walketh as he doth, and knowen by them his déepe dissimylation, I neuer hadde vnderstand the same. And thus I end wyth these kynde of vacabondes.

¶ A FRESHE WATER MARINER OR WHIPIACKE. Cap. 10.

THEse Freshwater Mariners, their shipes were drowned in the playne of Salisbery. These kynde of Caterpillers counterfet great losses on the sea; these bée some Western men, and most bée Irishe men. These wyll runne about the countrey wyth a counterfet lycence, fayninge either shypwracke, or spoyled by Pyrates, neare the coaste of Cornwall or Deuonshyre, and set a lande at some hauen towne there, hauynge a large and formall wrytinge, as is aboue sayd, with the names and seales of suche men of worshyppe, at the leaste foure or fve, as dwelleth neare or next to the place where they fayne their landinge. And neare to those shieres wyll they not begge, vntyll they come into Wylshyre, Hamshyre, Barkeshyre, Oxfordshyre, Harfordshyre, Middelsex, and so¹ to London, and downe by the ryuer to séeke for their shyppe and goods that they neuer hade: then passe they through Surrey, Sossex, by the sea costes, and so into Kent, demaunding almes to bring them home to their country.

¶ Some tyme they counterfet the seale of the Admiraltie. I haue diuers tymes taken a waye from them their lycences, of both sortes, wyth suche money as they haue gathered, and haue confiscated the same to the pouerty nigh adioynninge to me. And they wyll not

¹ Omitted in 1573.

beelonge with out another. For at anye good towne they wyll renewe the same. Once wyth muche threatninge and faire promises, I required to knowe of one companye who made their lycence. And they sweare that they bought the same at Portsmouth, of a Mariner there, and it cost them¹ two shillinges ; with such warrantes to be so good and efectuall, that if any of the best men of lawe, or learned, aboute London, should peruse the same, they weare able to fynde no faute there with, but would assuredly allow the same.

¹ *him (sic)*. B.

[leaf 14, back] 1



These two pycles, lyuely set out,
 One bodye and soule, god send him more grace.
 This mounstrous desembelar, a Cranke all about.
 Vncomly couctinge, of eche to imbrace,
 Money or wares, as he made his race.
 And sometyne a marynar, and a sarving man,
 Or els an artificer, as he would fayne than.
 Such shyftes he vsed, beinge well tryed,
 A bandoninge labour, tyll he was espyed.
 Conding punishment, for his dissimulation,
 He sewerly receaued with much declination ²

¹ This page is not in Bodley ed.

² 1573 reads *exclamation*

[leaf 15]

¶ A COUNTERFET CRANKE. Cap. 11.

THese that do counterfet the Cranke be yong knaues and yonge harlots, that depely dissemble the falling sicknes. For the Cranke in their language is the falling euyl. I haue séene some of these with fayre writings testimoniall, with the names and scales of some men of worshyp in Shropshyre, and in other Shieres farre of, that I haue well knowne, and haue taken the same from them. Many of these do go without writings, and wyll go halfe naked, and looke most pitiously. And if any clothes be geuen them, the[y]¹ immediatly sell the same, for weare it they wyll not, because they would bée the more pitied, and weare fylthy clothes on their heades, and neuer go without a péece of whyte sope about them, which, if they sée cause or present gaine, they wyll priuely conuey the same into their mouth, and so worke the same there, that they wyll fome as it were a Boore, *and* maruelously for a tyme torment them selues; and thus deceiue they the common people, and gayne much. These haue commonly their harlots as the other.

Apon Alhollenday in the morning last Anno domini. 1566, or my² booke was halfe printed, I meane the first impression, there came earely in the morninge a Counterfet Cranke vnder my lodgyng at the whyte Fryares, wythin the cloyster, in a lyttle yard or coorte, where aboutes laye two or thre great Ladyes, beyng without the lyberties of London, where hy he hoped for the greater gayne; this Cranke there lamentably lamentinge and pitefully crying to be releued, declared to dyuers their hys paynfull and miserable dysease. I being rysen and not halfe ready, harde his dolfull wordes and rufull mornings, hering him name the falling sicknes, thought assuredlye to my selfe that hée was a depe desemblar; so, comminge out at a sodayne, and beholdinge his vgly and yrksome attyre, hys lothsome and horyble countenance, it made me in a meruelous parplexite what to thinke of hym, whether it were fayned or trouth,—for after this manner went he: he was naked from the wast vpward, sauynge he had a old Ierken³ of leather patched, and that was lose⁴ about hym, that all his bodye laye out bare; a filthy foule cloth he ware on his head,

¹ *they*. B.² *my my*. B.³ *gyrken (et seqq.)*. B.⁴ *loose*. B.

being cut for the purpose, hauing a narowe place to put out his face, with a bauer made to trusse vp his beard, and a stryng that tyed the same downe close aboute his necke ; with an olde felt hat which he styll caried in his hande to receaue the charytye and deuotion of the people, for that woulde he hold out from hym ; hauyng hys face, from the eyes downe ward, all smerd with freshe bloud, [leaf 15, back] as thoughe he had new falen, and byn tormented wyth his paynefull panges,—his Ierken beinge all be rayde with durte and myre, and hys hatte and hosen also, as thoughe hée hadde wallowed in the myre : sewerly the sighte was monstrous and terreble. I called hym vnto me, and demaunded of hym what he ayled. “A, good mais-ter,” quoth he, “I haue the greuous and paynefull dyseas called the falyng syckenes.” “Why,” quoth I, “howe commeth thy Ierken, hose, and hat so be rayd with durte and myre, and thy skyn also?” “A, good master, I fell downe on the backesyde here in the fowle lane harde by the watersyde ; and there I laye all most all night, and haue bled all most all the bloude owte in my bodye.” It raynde that morninge very fast ; and whyle I was thus talkinge with hym, a honest poore woman that dwelt thereby brought hym a fayre linnen cloth, and byd hym wpe his face therewyth ; and there beinge a tobbe standing full of rayne water, offered to geue hym some in a dishe that he might make hym selfe cleane : hée refuseth¹ the same. “Why dost thou so?” quoth I. “A, syr,” sayth he, “yf I shoulde washe my selfe, I shoulde fall to bléedinge a freshe againe, and then I should not stop my selfe :” these wordes made me the more to suspecte hym.

Then I asked of hym where he was borne, what is name was, how longe he had this dysease, and what tyme he had ben here about London, and in what place. “Syr,” saythe he, “I was borne at Leycestar, my name is Nycholas Genings,² and I haue had this falling sycknes viij. yeares, and I can get no remedy for the same ; for I haue it by kinde, my father had it and my friendes before me ; and I haue byne these two yeares here about London, and a yeare and a halfe in bethelem.” “Why, wast thou out of thy wyttes?” quoth I. “Ye, syr, that I was.”

¹ *refused.* B.

² *Gennins.* B.

“What is the Kepars name of the house?” “Hys name is,” quoth hée, “Iohn Smith.” “Then,” quoth I, “hée must vnderstande of thy dysease; yf thou hadest the same for the tyme thou wast there, he knoweth it well.” “Ye, not onely he, but all the house bée syde,” quoth this Cranke; “for I came thens but within this fortnight.” I had stande so longe reasoning the matter wyth him that I was a cold, and went into my chamber and made me ready, and commaunded my seruaut to repayre to bethelam, and bringe me true worde from the keper there whether anye suche man hath byn with him as a prisoner hauinge the dysease aforesayd, and gaue hym a note of his name and the kepars also: my seruaut, retorninge to my lodginge, dyd assure me that neither was there euer anye such man there, nether yet anye keper of anye suche name; but hée that was there keper, he sent me hys name in writing, affirming that hee letteth no man depart from hym vnlesse he be fet a waye by [leaf 16] hys fréendes, and that none that came from hym beggeth aboute the Citye. Then I sent for the Printar of this booke, and shewed hym of this dyssembling Cranke, and how I had sent to Bethelam to vnderstand the trouth¹, and what aunswere I receaued againe, requiringe hym that I might haue some seruaut of his to watche him faithfully that daye, that I might vnderstand trustely to what place he woulde repaire at night vnto, and thether I promised to goe my selfe to sée their order, and that I woulde haue hym to associate me thether: hée gladly graunted to my request, and sent two boyes, that both diligently and vygelantly accomplit the charge geuen them, and found the same Cranke aboute the Temple, where about the most parte of the daye hée begged, vnlesse it weare about xii. of the clocke he wente on the backesyde of Clementes Ine without Temple barre: there is a lane that goeth into the Felde; there hee renewed his face againe wyth freshe bloud, which he caried about hym in a bladder, and dawbed on freshe dyrte vpon his Ierken, hat, and hoson.

¶ And so came backe agayne vnto the Temple, and sometyme to the Watersyde, and begged of all that passed bye: the boyes behelde howe some gaue grotes, some syxe pens, some gaue more;

¹ *trough*. B.

for hée looked so ougleie and yrksomlye, that euerye one pytied his miserable case that beehelde hym. To bee shorte, there he passed all the daye tyll night approched ; and when it began to bée some what dark, he went to the water syde and toke a Skoller,¹ and was sette ouer the Water into Saincte Georges felde, contrarye to my expectation ; for I had thought he woulde haue gonne into Holborne or to Saynt Gylles in the felde ; but these boyes, with Argues and Lyncees eyes, set sewre watche vppon him, and the one tooke a bote and followed him, and the other went backe to tell his maister.

The boye that so folowed hym by Water, had no money to pay for his Bote hyre, but layde his Penner and his Ynkhorne to gage for a penny ; and by that tyme the boye was sette ouer, his Maister, wyth all celeryte, hadde taken a Bote and followed hym apase : now hadde they styll a syght of the Cranke, wych crossed ouer the felddes towardes Newyngton, and thether he went, and by that tyme they came thether it was very darke : the Prynter hadde there no acquaintance, nether any kynde of weapon about hym, nether knewe he² how farre the Cranke woulde goe, because hee then suspected that they dogged hym of purposse ; he there stayed hym, and called for the Counstable, whyche came forthe dylygentelye to inqyre what the matter was : thys zelous Pryntar charged thys offyceer [leaf 16, back] wyth hym as a malefactor and a dessemblinge vagabonde—the Counstable woulde haue layde him all night in the Cage that stode in the streate. “Naye,” saythe this pitifull Prynter, “I praye you haue him into your house ; for this is lyke to be a cold nyght, and he is naked : you kepe a vytellinge house ; let him be well cherished this night, for he is well hable to paye for the same. I knowe well his gaynes hath byn great to day, and your house is a sufficient pryson for the tyme, and we wil there serehe hym. The Counstable agreed there vnto : they had him in, and caused him to washe him selfe : that donne, they demaunded what money he had about hym. Sayth this Cranke, “So God helpe me, I haue but xii. pence,” and plucked oute the same of a lytle pursse. “Why, haue you no more ?” quoth they. “No,” sayth this Cranke, “as God shall saue my soule at the day of iudgement.” “We must se more,” quoth they,

¹ 1573 reads *skolloer*

² Omitted in 1573 edit.

and began to stryp hym. Then he plucked out a nother purse, wherein was xl. pens. "Toushe," sayth¹ thys Prynter, "I must see more." Saythe this Cranke, "I pray God I bée dampned both body² and soule yf I haue anye more." "No," sayth thys Prynter, "thou false knaue, here is my boye that dyd watche thée all this daye, and sawe when such men gaue the péeses of sixe pens, grotes, and other money; and yet thou hast shewed vs none but small money." When thys Cranke hard this, and the boye vowinge it to his face, he relented, and plucked out another pursse, where in was eyght shyllings and od money; so had they in the hole *that* he had begged that day xij. shillings iii. ³pens halfepeny³. Then they strypt him starke naked, and as many as sawe him sayd they neuer sawe hansommer man, wyth a yellowe flexen beard⁴, and fayre skynned, withoute anye spot or greffe. Then the good wyfe of the house fet her goodmans⁵ olde clocke, *and* caused the same to be cast about him, because the sight shoulde not abash her shamefast maydens, nether loth her squaymysh sight.

{ Thus he set⁶ downe at the Chemnes end, and called for a potte of Béere, and dranke of a quarte at a draft, and called for another, and so the thyrde, that one had bene sufficient for any resonable man, the Drynke was so stronge.⁷ I my selfe, the next morninge, tasted thereof; but let the reader iudge what and howe much he would haue dronke and he had bene out of feare. Then when they had thus wrong water out of a flint in spoyling him of his euyl gotten goods, his passing pens⁸, *and* fletting trashe, The printer with this offeecer were in gealy gealowsit⁹, and deuised to search a barne for some roges and vpright men, a quarter of a myle from the house, that stode a lone in the fieldes, and wente out about their busines, leauing this cranke alone with his wyfe and maydens: this crafty Cranke, espying al gon, requested *the* good wife that [leaf 17] hee might goe out on the backesyde to make water, and to exonerate his paunche: she bad hym drawe the lache of the dore and goe out, neither thinkinge or mistrusting he

¹ *sayih* (sic). B. ² printed *dody* ³⁻³ *d. ob.* B. ⁴ *bede.* B.

⁵ *mans.* B. ⁶ 1573 inserts *him; sette hym.* B. ⁷ 1573 inserts *that*

⁸ *pence.* B. ⁹ The 1573 edition reads *ioly ioylitie; gelorsy.* B.

would haue gon awaye naked ; but, to conclude, when hee was out, he cast awaye the cloke, and, as naked as euer he was borne, he ran away, ¹ that he could ² neuer be hard of ³ againe.¹ Now ³ the next morning betimes, I went vnto Newington, to vnderstand what was done, because I had word or it was day that there my printer was ; and at my comming thether, I hard the hole circumstaunce, as I aboue haue wrytten ; and I, seing the matter so fall out, tooke order with the chiefe of the parish that this xiiij. shyllings and iij. ⁴pens halfpeny⁴ might the next daye be equally distributed, by their good discrecions, to the pouertie of the same parishe,⁵ and so it was done.

¹ The 1573 edition finishes the sentence thus :—"ouer the fields to his own house, as hee afterwards said."

² *woulde*. B.

³⁻³ *again til now*. B.

⁴⁻¹ *d. ob*. B.

⁵ The 1573 edition continues thus :—"wherof this crafty Cranke had part him selfe, for he had both house and wife in the same parishe, as after you shall heare. But this lewde lewterar could not laye his bones to labour, hauing got once the tast of this lewd lasy lyfe, for al this fayr admonition, but deuised other suttel sleights to maintaine his ydell liuing, and so craftely clothed him selfe in mariners apparel, and associated him self with an other of his companions : they hauing both mariners apparel, went abroad to aske charity of the people, fayning they hadde loste their shippe with all their goods by casualty on the seas, wherewith they gayned much. This crafty Cranke, fearinge to be mistrusted, fell to another kinde of begging, as bad or worse, and apparelled himselfe very well with a fayre black frêse cote, a new payre of whyte hose, a fyne felt hat on his head, a shert of flaundersworke esteemed to be worth xvi. shillings ; and vpon newe yeares day came againe into the whyt Fryers to beg : the priuter, hauing occasion to go that ways, not thinking of this Cranke, by chaunce met with him, who asked his charitie for Gods sake. The printer, vewing him well, did mistrust him to be the counterfet Cranke which deceued him vpon Allhollen daye at night, demaunded of whence he was and what was his name, 'Forsoth,' saith he, 'my name is Nicolas Genings, and I came from Leicester to sêke worke, and I am a hat-maker by my occupation, and all my money is spent, and if I coulde get money to paye for my lodging this night, I would seke work to morowe amongst the hatters.' The printer perceiuing his depe dissimulation, putting his hand into his purse, seeming to giue him some money, and with fayre allusions brought him into the strêete, where he charged the constable with him, affirminge him to be the counterfet Cranke that ranne away vpon Alholon daye last. The constable being very loth to medle with him, but the printer knowing him and his depe disceit, desyred he mought be brought before the debutie of the ward, which straight was accomplished, which when he came before the debuty, he demaunded of him of whence he was and what was his name ; he answered as before he did vnto the printer : the debutie asked the priuter what he woulde laye vnto hys charge ; he answered and aleged him to be a vagabond and depe deceyuer of the people, and the counterfet Crank that ran away vpon Alhallon day last from the constable of Newington and him, and requested him earnestly to send him to ward : the debuty thinking him to be deceiued, but

¶ A DOMMERAR. Cap. 12.

THese Dommerars are leud and most subtyll people: the moste part of these are Walch men, and wyll neuer speake, vnlesse they haue extreame punishment, but wyll gape, and with a maruelous force wyll hold downe their tounge doubled, groning for your charyty, and holding vp their handes full pitiously, so that with their deepe dissimulation they get very much. There are of these many, *and* but one that I vnderstand of hath lost his tounge in dede. Hauing on a time occasion to ride to Dartforde, to speake with a priest there, who maketh all kinde of conserues very well, and vseth stilling of waters; And repayinge to his house, I founde a Dommerar at his doore, and the priest him selfe perusinge his¹ lycence, vnder the seales and hands of certayne worshypfull men, had² thought the same to be good and effectuall. I taking the same writing, and

neuerthelesse laid his commaundement vpon him, so that the printer should beare his charges if he could not iustifie it; he agréed thereunto. And so he and the constable went to cary him to the Counter; and as they were going vnder Ludgate, this crafty Cranke toke his héeles and ran down the hill as fast as he could dryve, the constable and the printer after him as fast as they coulede: but the printer of *the* twayn being lighter of fote, ouertoke him at fleete bridge, and with strong hand caried him to the counter, and safely deliuered him. In *the* morow *the* printer sent his boy that strippd him vpon Alhalon day at night to view him, because he would be sure, which boy knew him very well: this Crank confessed unto the debuty, *that* he had hosted the night before in Kent stréet in Southwarke, at the signe of the Coek, which thing to be true, the printer sente to know, and found him a lyer; but further inquiring, at length found out his habitation, dwelling in maister Hilles rentes, hauinge a pretye house, well stuffed, with a fayre ioyne table, and a fayre cubbard garnished with peuter, hauing an old auncient woman to his wyfe. The printer being sure therof, repaired vnto the Counter, and rebuked him for his beastly behaviour, and told him of his false fayning, willed him to confesse it, and aske forgiveness: he perceyued him to know his depe dissimulation, relented, and confessed all his disceit; and so remayning in the counter thrée dayes, was removed to Brydwel, where he was strypt starke naked, and his ougly attyre put vpon him before the maisters thereof, who wondered greatly at his dissimulation: for which offence he stode vpon the pillery in Cheapsyde, both in his ougly and handsome attyre. And after that went in the myll whyle his ougly picture was a drawing; and then was whyped at a cartes tayle through London, and his displayd banner caried before him vnto his own dore, and so backe to Brydewell againe, and there remayned for a tyme, and at length let at libertie, on that condicon he would proue an honest man, and labour truly to get his liuing. And his picture remayneth in Bridewell for a monyment."

—See, also, *post*, p. 89.

¹ of his. B.

² which priest had. B.

reading it ouer, and noting the seales, founde one of the seales like vnto a seale that I had aboute me, which seale I bought besides Charing crosse, that I was out of doubte it was none of those Gentlemens seales that had sub[s]cribed. And hauing vnderstanding before of their penish practises, made me to conceaue that all was forged and nought. I made the more hast home; for well I wyst that he would and must of force passe through the parysh where I dwelt; for there was no other waye for hym. And comminge homeward, I found them in the towne, accordinge to my expectation, where they were staid; for there was a Pallyarde associate with the Dommerar and partaker of his gaynes, whyche Pallyarde I sawe not at Dartford. The stayers of them was a gentleman called¹ *Chayne*, and a seruant of my Lord Kéeper, cald *Wostestowe*, which was [leaf 17, back] the chiefe causer of the staying of them, being a Surgien, and cunning in his science, had séene the lyke practises, and, as he sayde, hadde caused one to speake afore that was dome². It was my chaunce to come at the begynning of the matter. "Syr," (quoth this Surgien) "I am bold here to vtter some part of my cunning. I trust" (quoth he) "you shall se a myracle wrought anon. For I once" (quoth he) "made a dumme man to speake." Quoth I, "you are wel met, and somewhat you haue preuented me; for I had thought to haue done no lesse or they hadde passed this towne. For I well knowe their writing is fayned, and they depe dissemblers." The Surgien made hym gape, and we could see but halfe a tounge. I required the Surgien to put hys fynger in his mouth, and to pull out his tounge, and so he dyd, not withstanding he held strongly a prety whyle; at the length he pluckt out the same, to the great admiration of many that stode by. Yet when we sawe his tounge, hée would neither speake nor yet could heare. Quoth I to the Surgien, "knit two of his fyngers to gether, and thrust a stycke betwene them, and rubbe the same vp and downe a lytle whyle, and for my lyfe hée speaketh by and by." "Sir," quoth this Surgien, "I praye you let me practise and³ other waye." I was well contented to see the same. He had him into a house, and tyed a halter aboute the wrestes of his handes, and hoysed him vp ouer a beame, and

¹ *cal.* (*sic*). B.² *dumme*. B.³ So printed. *an.* B.

there dyd let him hang a good while : at *the* length, for very paine he required for Gods sake to let him down. So he that was both deafe and dume coulede in short tyme both heare and speake. Then I tooke that money I could finde in his pursse, and distributed the same to the poore people dwelling there, whiche was xv. pence halfe-peny, being all that we coulede finde. That done, and this merry myracle madly made, I sent them with my seruauant to the next Iusticer, where they preached on the Pyllery for want of a Pulpet, and were well whypped, and none dyd bewaile them.

¶ A DRONKEN TYNCKAR. Cap. 13.

THese dronken Tynckers, called also Prygges, be beastly people, *and* these yong knaues be *the* wurst. These neuer go *with* out their Dokes, and yf their women haue anye thing about them, as apparell or linnen, that is worth the selling, they laye the same to gage, or sell it out right, for bene bowse at their bowsing ken. And full sone wyll they bée wearye of them, and haue a newe. When they happen one woorke at any good house, their Dokes lynger alofe, and tarry for them in some corner ; and yf he taryeth longe from her, then she knoweth ~~that is~~ he hath worke, and walketh neare, and sitteth downe by him. For besydes money, he looketh for meate and drinke for doinge his dame pleasure. For yf she haue thrée or foure holes in a pan, hee wyll make as many more for spedy gaine. And if he se any old kettie, chafer, or pewter dish abroad in the yard where he worketh, hée quicklye snappeth the same vp, and in to the boogit it goeth round. Thus they lyue with deceite.

{ ¶ I was crediblye informed, by such as could well tell, that one of these tipling Tinckers *with* his dogge robbed by the high way iiij. Pallyards and two Roges, six persons together, and tooke from them aboue foure pound in ready money, *and* hide him after in a thicke woode a daye or two, and so escaped vntaken. Thus with picking and stealing, mingled with a lytle worke for a coulour, they passe their time.

¶ A SWADDER, OR PEDLER. Cap. 14.

THese Swadders and Pedlers bee not all euyll, but of an indifferent behaiour. These stand in great awe of the vpright men, for they haue often both wares and money of them. But for as much as they seeke gayne vnlawfully against the lawes and statutes of this noble realme, they are well worthy to be registred among the number of vacabonds; and vndoubtedly I haue hadde some of them brought before me, when I was in commission of the peace, as malefactors, for bryberinge and stealinge. And nowe of late it is a greate practes of the vpright man, when he hath gotten a botye, to bestowe the same vpon a packefull of wares, and so goeth a time for his pleasure, because he would lyue with out suspition.

¶ A IARKE MAN, AND A PATRICO. Cap. 15.

FOR as much as these two names, a Iarkeman and a Patrico, bee in the old briefe of vacabonds, and set forth as two kyndes of euil doers, you shall vnderstande that a Iarkeman hathe his name of a Iarke, which is a seale in their Language, as one should make writings and set scales for lycences and pasporte¹. And for trouthe there is none that goeth aboute the countrey of them that can eyther wryte so good and fayre a hand, either indite so learnedly, as I haue sene *and* handeled a number of them: but haue the same made in good townes where they come, as what can not be hadde for money, as the prouerbe sayth ("*Omnia venalia Rome*"), and manye hath confessed the same to me. [leaf 18, back] Now, also, there is a Patrico, and not a Patriarcho², whiche in their language is a priest that should make mariages tyll death dyd depart; but they haue none such, I am well assured; for I put you out of doubt that not one amo[n]gest a hundreth of them are married, for they take lechery for no sinne, but naturall fellowship and good lyking lone: so that I wyll not blot my boke with these two that be not.

¹ *pasportes*. B.² *Patriarch*. B.

¶ A DEMAUENDER FOR GLYMMAR. Cap. 16.

THese Demaunders for glymmar be for the moste parte wemen ; for glymmar, in their language, is fyre. These goe with fayned¹ lycences and counterfayted wrytings, hauing the hands and seales of suche gentlemen as dwelleth nere to the place where they fayne them selues to haue bene burnt, and their goods consumed with fyre. They wyll most lamentable² demaunde your charitie, *and* wyll quicklye shed salte teares, they be so tender harted. They wyll neuer begge in that Shiere where their losses (as they say) was. Some of these goe with slates at their backes, which is a shéete to lye in a nightes. The vpright men be very familiare with these kynde of wemen, and one of them helps an other.

¶ A Demaunder for glymmar came vnto a good towne in Kente, to aske the charitie of the people, hauinge a fayned lycens aboute her that declared her misfortune by fyre, donne in Somerset shyre, walkinge with a wallet on her shoulders, where in shée put the deuotion of suche as hadde no money to geue her ; that is to saye, Malte, woll, baken, bread, and cheese ; and alwayes, as the same was full, so was it redye money to her, when she emptyed the same, where so euer shee trauelede: thys harlot was, as they terme it, snowte fayre, and had an vpright man or two alwayes attendinge on her watche (whyche is on her parson), and yet so circumspecte, that they woulde neuer bee séene in her company in any good towne, vnlesse it were in smale vyllages where typling houses weare, eyther traueling to gether by the hygh wayes ; but *the* troth is, by report, she would wekely be worth vi. or seuen shyllinges with her begging and bycherye. This glimmering Morte, repayringe to an Ine in *the* sayde towne where dwelt a wydow of fyftie wynter olde of good welth ; but she had an vnthryfte sonne, whom she vsed as a chamberlaine to attend gestes when they repared to her house : this ameraus man, be holdinge with ardante eyes thys³ glymmeringe glauncer, was presentlye pyteouslye persed to the hart, and lewdlye longed to bée clothed vnder her lyuerye ; and bestowinge [leaf 19] a

¹ *faynen.* B.² *lamentably.* B.³ *beholding this.* B.

fewe fonde wordes with her, vnderstode strayte that she woulde be easlye perswaded to lykinge lechery, and as a man mased, mused howe to attayne to his purpose, for¹ he hadde no money. Yet consideringe wyth hym selfe that wares woulde bée welcome where money wanted, hée went with a wannion to his mothers chamber, and there sekinge aboute for odde endes, at length founde a lytle whystell of syluer that his mother dyd vse customablye to weare on, and had forgot the same for haste that morninge, and offeres the same closely to this manerly marian, that yf she woulde mete hym on the backeside of the towne and curteously kys him with out constraynt, she shoulde bée mystres thereof, and it weare much better. “Well,” sayth she, “you are a wanton;” and beholdinge the whystell, was farther in loue there with then rauysht wyth his person, and agreed to mete him presently, and to accomplyshe his fonde fancy:—to be short, and not tedyous, a quarter of a myle from the towne, he merely toke measure of her vnder a bawdye bushe; so she gaue hym that she had not, and he receiued that he coulde not; and taking leue of eche other with a curteous kysse, she plesantly passed forth one her iornaye, *and* this vntoward lycorous chamberlayne repayred home warde. But or these two tortylles tooke there leue, the good wyfe myssed her whystell, and sent one of her maydenes in to her chamber for the same, and being long sawght for, none coulde be founde; her mystres hering that, diligent search was made for the same; and that it was taken awaye, began to suspecte her vnblessed babe, and demaunded of her maydens whether none of them sawe her sonne in her chamber that morning, and one of them aunswered that she sawe him not there, but comming from thens: then had she ynough, for well she wyste that he had the same, and sent for him, but he could not be founde. Then she caused her hosteler, in whome she had better affyaunce in for his trouthe,—and yet not one amongst twenty of them but haue well left there honesty, (As I here a great sorte saye)—to come vnto her, whiche attended to knowe her pleasure. “Goe, seke out,” saythe she, “my vntowarde sonne, and byd hym come speake with me.” “I sawe him go out,” saythe he, “halfe an houre

¹ *but. B.*

sithens one the backesyde. I hadde thought you hadde sent him of your arrante." "I sent him not," quoth she; "goe, loke him out."

¶ This hollowe hosteler toke his staffe in his necke, and trodged out apase that waye he sawe him before go, and had some vnderstanding, by one of the maydens, that his mistres had her whistell stolen *and* suspected her sonne; and he had not gone farre but that he espyed him comming homeward alone, and, meting him, axed where he had ben. [leaf 19. back] "Where haue I bene?" quoth he, and began to smyle. "Now, by the mas, thou hast bene at some bandy banquet." "Thou hast euen tolde trouth," quoth thys chamberlayne. "Sewerly," quoth this hosteler, "thou haddest the same woman that begged at our house to day, for *the* harmes she had by fyre: where is she?" quoth he. "She is almost a myle by this tyme," quoth this chamberlayne. "Where is my mystres whystell?" quoth this hosteler; "for I am well assured that thou haddest it, and I feare me thou hast geuen it to that harlot." "Why! is it myssed?" quoth this chamberlayne. "Yea," quoth this hosteler, and shewed him all the hole circumstaunce, what was both sayde and thought on him for the thing. "Well, I wyl tell the," quoth this Chamberlayne. "I wylbe playne with the. I had it in dede, and haue geuen the same to this woman, and I praye the make the best of it, and helpe nowe to excuse the matter, and yet surely and thou wouldest take so much payne for me as to ouer take her, (for she goeth but softly, and is not yet farre of) and take the same from her, and I am euer thyne assured fréende." "Why, then, go with me," quoth this hostler. "Nay, in faythe," quoth this Chamberlayne; "what is frear then gift? and I hadde prety pastime for the same." "Hadest thou so?" quoth this hosteler; "nowe, by the masse, and I wyll haue some to, or I wyll lye in the duste or I come agayne." Passing with hast to ouer take this paramoure, within a myle from *the* place where he departed he ouertoke her, hauing an vpright man in her company, a stronge and a sturdye vacabond: some what amased was this hosteler to se one familiarly in her company, for he had well hopped to haue had some delycate dalyance, as his fellowe hadde; but, seinge the matter so fallout, and being of

good corage, and thinking to him selfe that one true man was better then two false knaues, and being on the high way, thought vpon helpe, if nede had bene, by such as had passed to and fro, Demanded fersely the whistell that she had euyn nowe of his fellowe. "Why, husband," quoth she, "can you suffer this wretche to slaunder your wyfe?" "A vaunt verlet," quoth this vpright man, and letes dryue with all his force at this hosteler, and after halfe¹ a dosen blowes, he strycks his staffe out of his hande, and as this hosteler stept backe to haue taken vp his staffe agayne, his glymmeringe Morte flinges a great stone at him, and strake him one the heade that downe hee fales, wyth the bloud about his eares, and whyle hée laye this amased, the vpright man snatches awaye his pursse, where in hée hadde money of his mystresses as well as of his owne, and there let him lye, and went a waye with spede that they were neuer harde of more. When this drye beaten hosteler was come to him selfe, hée fayntlye wandereth home, and crepethe in to hys couche, and restes [leaf 20] his ydle heade: his mystres harde that hée was come in, and layde him downe on his beade, repayred straight vnto him, and aske hym what he ayled, and what the cause was of his so sudden lying one his bed. "What is the cause?" quoth this hosteler; "your whystell, your whistel,"—speaking the same pyteouslye thre or foure tymes. "Why, fole," quoth his mystrisse, "take no care for that, for I doe not greatly waye it; it was worth but thrée shyllinges foure pens." "I would it had bene burnt for foure yeares agon." "I praye the why so," quoth his mystres; "I think thou art mad." "Nay, not yet," quoth this hosteler, "but I haue bene madly handlyd." "Why, what is the matter?" quoth his mystres, and was more desirous to know the case. "And you wyl for geue my fellowe and me, I wyll shewe you, or els I wyll neuer doe it." Shée made hym presently faithfull promisse that shée woulde. "Then," saythe hee, "sende for your sonne home agayne, whyche is ashamed to loke you in the face." "I agre there to," sayth shée. "Well, then," quoth this hosteler, "youre sonne hathe geuen the same Morte that begged here, for the burninge of her house, a whystell, and you haue geuen her v. shyllinges in money,

¹ Omitted in 1573.

and I haue geuen her ten shyllinges of my owne." "Why, howe so?" quoth she. Then he sadly shewed her of his myshap, with all the circumstance that you haue harde before, and howe hys pursse was taken awaye, and xv. shyllinges in the same, where of v. shyllinges was her money and x. shyllinges his owne money. "Is this true?" quoth his mystres. "I, by my trouth," quoth this hosteler, "and nothing greues me so much, neyther my beating, neither the losse of my money, as doth my euell *and* wretched lucke." "Why, what is the matter?" quoth his mystres. "Your sonne," saythe this hosteler, "had some chere and pastyme for that whystell, for he laye with her, and I haue bene well beaten, and haue had my pursse taken from me, and you knowe your sonne is merrie and pleasaunt, and can kepe no great counsell; and then shall I bemocked *and* loughed to skorne in all places when they shall here howe I haue bene serued." "Nowe, out vpon you knaues both," quoth his mystres, and laughes oute the matter; for she well sawe it would not other wyse preuayle.

¶ A BAWDY BASKET. Cap. 17.

THese Bawdy baskets be also wemen, and go with baskets and Capcases on their armes, where in they haue laces, pynnes, nedles, white ynkell, and round sylke gyrdles of al coulours. These wyl bye conneyskins,¹ *and* steale linen clothes of on hedges. And for their trifles they wil procure of mayden seruants, when [leaf 20, back] their mystres or dame is oute of the waye, either some good peece of béefe, baken, or eh'ese, that shalbe worth xij. pens, for ii. pens of their toyes. And as they walke by the waye, they often gaine some money wyth their instrument, by such as they sodaynely mete withall. The vpright men haue good acquayntance with these, and will helpe and relieue them when they want. Thus they trade their lyues in lewed lothsome lechery. Amongest them all is but one honest woman, and she is of good yeares; her name is Ione Messenger. I haue had good prooffe of her, as I haue learned by the true report of diners.

¹ Rabbitskins

There came to my gate the last sommer, Anno Domini .1566,
 a very miserable man, and much deformed, as burnt in the face, blere eyde, and lame of one of his legges that he went with a crouche. I axed him wher he was borne, and where he dwelt last, and shewed him that thether he must repaire and be releued, and not to range aboute the countrey; and seing some cause of cherytie, I caused him to haue meate and drinke, and when he had dronke, I demaunded of him whether he was neuer spoyled of the vpright man or Roge. "Yes, that I haue," quoth he, "and not this seuen yeres, for so long I haue gon abroad, I had not so much taken from me, and so euyl handeled, as I was within these iiij. dayes." "Why, how so?" quoth I. "In good fayth, sir," quoth hée, "I chaunced to m'ete with one of these bawdy baskets which had an vpright man in her company, and as I would haue passed quietly by her, 'man,' sayth she vnto vnto her make, 'do you not se this ylfauored, windshaken knaue?' 'Yes,' quoth the vpright man; 'what saye you to him?' 'this knaue¹ oweth me ii. shyllings for wares that² he had of me, halfe a yere ago, I think it well.' Sayth this vpright man, 'syra,' sayth he, 'paye your dets.' Sayth this poore man, 'I owe her none, nether dyd I euer bargane with her for any thinge, and as this³ aduysed I neuer sawe her before in all my lyfe.' 'Mercy, god!' quoth she, 'what a lyinge knaue is this, and he wil not paye you, husband, beat him suerly,' and the vpright man gaue me thre or foure blowes on my backe and should-ers, and would haue beat me worsse and I had not geuen hym all the money in my pursse, and in good fayth, for very feare, I was fayne to geue him xiiij. pens, which was all the money that I had. 'Why,' sayth this bawdy basket, 'hast thou no more? then thou owest me ten pens styll; and, be well assured that I wyll bée payde the next tyme I méeete with thée.' And so they let me passe by them. I praye god saue and blesse me, and al other in my case, from such wycked persons," quoth this poore man. "Why, whether went they then?" quoth I. "Into east Kent, for I mete with them on thyssyde of Rochester. I haue dyuers tymes bene attempted, but

¹ B. inserts *sayth she*.² Omitted in 1573.³ 1573 reads *I am*

I neuer loste [leaf 21] much before. I thanke god, there came styll company by a fore this vnhappy time." "Well," quoth I, "thanke God of all, and repaire home into thy natyue countrey."

¶ A AUTEM MORT. Cap. 18.

THese Autem Mortes be married wemen, as there be but a fewe. For Autem in their Language is a Church; so she is a wyfe married at the Church, and they be as chaste as a Cowe I haue, *that* goeth to Bull euery moone, with what Bull she careth not. These walke most times from their husbands companie a moneth and more to gether, being asociate with another as honest as her selfe. These wyll pylfar clothes of hedges: some of them go with children of ten or xii. yeares of age; yf tyme and place serue for their purpose, they wyll send them into some house, at the window, to steale and robbe, which they call in their language, Milling of the ken; and wil go *with* wallets on their shoulders, and slates at their backes. There is one of these Autem Mortes, she is now a widow, of fyfty yeres old; her name is Alice Milson: she goeth about with a couple of great boyes, the yongest of them is fast vpon xx. yeares of age; and these two do lye with her euery night, and she lyeth in the middes: she sayth that they be her children, that beteled be babes borne of such abhominable bellye.

¶ A WALKING MORT. Cap. 19.

THese walkinge Mortes bee not married: these for their vnhappy yeares doth go as a Autem Morte, and wyll saye their husbandes died eyther at Newhanen, Ireland, or in some seruice of the Prince. These make laces vpon stauens, *and* purses, that they cary in their hands, and whyte vallance for beddes. Manye of these hath hadde and haue chyl dren: when these get ought, either with begging, bychery, or brybery, as money or apparell, they are quickly shaken out of all by the vpright men, that they are in a maruelous feare to cary any thinge aboute them that is of any valure. Where fore, this pollicye they vse, they leaue their money now with one and then with a nother trustye housholders, eyther with the good man or good wyfe, some tyme in one shiere, and then in another, as they

trauell: this haue I knowne, *that* iiij. or v. shyllinges, yea x. shyllinges, lefte in a place, and the same wyll they come for againe within one quarter of a yeaere, or some tyme not in halfe a yeaere; and all this is to lytle purpose, for all their penyshes [leaf 21, back] pollycey; for when they bye them lynnens or garmentse, it is taken awaye from them, and worsse geuen them, or none at all.

¶ The last Sommer, Anno domini .1566, being in familiare talke with a walking Mort that came to my gate, I learned by her what I could, and I thought I had gathered as much for my purpose as I desired. I began to rebuke her for her leud lyfe and beastly behauor, declaring to her what punishment was prepared and heaped vp for her in the world to come for her fylthy lyuinge and wretched conuersation. "God helpe," *quoth* she, "how should I lyue? none wyll take me into seruice; but I labour in haruest time honestly." "I thinke but a whyle with honestie," *quoth* I. "Shall I tell you," *quoth* she, "the best of vs all may be amended; but yet, I thanke god, I dyd one good dede within this twelue monthes." "Wherein?" *quoth* I. Sayth she, "I woulde not haue it spoken of agayne." "Yf it be méete and necessary," *quod* I, "it shall lye vnder my feete." "What meane you by that?" *quoth* she. "I meane," *quod* I, "to hide the same, and neuer to discouer it to any." "Well," *quoth* she, and began to laugh as much as she could, and sweare by the masse that if I disclosed the same to any, she woulde neuer more¹ tell me any thinge. "The last sommer," *quoth* she, "I was greate with chylde, and I traueled into east kent by the sea coste, for I lusted meruelously after oysters and muskels², and gathered many, and in *the* place where I found them, I opened them and eate them styll: at the last, in seking more, I reached after one, and stept into a hole, and fel in into the wast, and their dyd stycke, and I had bene drowned if the tide had come, and espyinge a man a good waye of, I cried as much as I could for helpe. I was alone, he hard me, and repaired as fast to me as he might, and finding me their fast stycking, I required for gods sake his helpe; and whether it was with stryuinge and forcing my selfe out, or for ioye I had of his cominge to me, I had a great couller in my face, and looked red and well

¹ Omitted in 1573.

² *mussels*. B.

coullered. And, to be playne with you, hée lyked me so well (as he sayd) that I should there lye styll, and I would not graunt him, that he might lye with me. And, by my trouth, I wist not what to answere, I was in such a perplexite; for I knew the man well: he had a very honest woman to his wyfe, and was of some welth; and, one the other syde, if I weare not holpe out, I should there haue perished, and I graunted hym that I would obeye to his wyll: then he plucked me out. And because there was no conuenient place nere hande, I required hym that I might go washe my selfe, and make me somewhat clenly, and I would come to his house and lodge all night in his barne, whether he mighte repaire to me, and accomplyshe hys desire, ‘but let it not be,’ quoth she,¹ ‘before nine of the clocke at nyghte [leaf 22] for then there wylbe small styrring. And I may repaire to the towne,’ quoth she,² ‘to warme and drye my selfe’; for this was about two of the clocke in the after none. ‘Do so,’ quoth hée; ‘for I must be busie to looke oute my cattell here by before I can come home.’ So I went awaye from hym, and glad was I.”

“And why so?” quoth I. “Because,” quoth she, “his wyfe, my good dame, is my very fr’end, and I am much beholdinge to her. And she hath donne me so much good or this, that I weare loth nowe to harne her any waye.” “Why,” quoth I, “what and it hadde béene any other man, and not your good dames husbände?” “The matter had bene the lesse,” quoth shée. “Tell me, I pray the,” quoth I, “who was the father of thy chylde?” She stodyd a whyle, and sayde that it hadde a father. “But what was hée?” quoth I. “Nowe, by my trouth, I knowe not,” quoth shée; “you brynge me out of my matter so, you do.” “Well, saye on,” quoth I. “Then I departed strayght to the towne, and came to my dames house, And shewed her of my mysfortune, also of her husbands vsage, in all pointes, and that I showed her the same for good wyll, and byde her take better hée de to her husbände, and to her selfe: so shée gaue me great thanks, and made me good chéere, and byd me in anye case that I should be redye at the barne at that tyme and houre we had apoynted; ‘for I knowe well,’ quoth this good wyfe, ‘my husband wyll not breake wyth the. And one thinge I warne³ the, that thou

¹ *he*, ed. 1573.² *I*, ed. 1573.³ *warrant*. B.

geue me a watche worde a loud when hée goeth aboute to haue his pleasure of the, and that shall¹ bée “fye, for shame, fye,” and I wyll bée harde by you wyth helpe. But I charge the kéepe thys secret vntyll all bee fynessed; and holde,’ saythe thys good wyfe, ‘here is one of my peticotes I geue thée.’ ‘I thanke you, good dame,’ quoth I, ‘and I warrante you I wyll bée true and trustye vnto you.’ So my dame lefte me settinge by a good fyre with meate and drynke; and wyth the oysters I broughte with me, I hadde greate cheere: shée wente strayght and repaired vnto her gossypes dwelling there by; and, as I dyd after vnderstande, she made her mone to them, what a naughtye, lewed, lecherous husbände shée hadde, and howe that she coulde not haue hys companye for harlotes, and that she was in feare to take some fylthy dysease of hym, he was so commen a man, hauinge lytle respecte whome he hadde to do with all; ‘and,’ quoth she, ‘nowe here is one at my house, a poore woman that goeth aboute the countrey that he woulde haue hadde to doe withall; wherefore, good neyghboures and louinge gossypes, as you loue me, and as you would haue helpe at my hand another tyme, deuyse some remedy to make my husband a good man, *that* I may lyue in some suerty without disease, and that hée may saue his soule that God so derelye [leaf 22, back] bought.’ After shée hadde tolde her tale, they caste their persinge eyes all vpon her, but one stoute dame amongst the rest had these wordes—‘As your pacient bearinge of troubles, your honest behauiour among vs your neyghbours, your tender and pytifull hart to the poore of the parysh, doth moue vs to lament your case, so the vnsatiable carnalite of your faithlesse husbände doth instigate and styre vs to deuyse and inuent some spéedy redresse for your ease² and the amendement of hys lyfe. Wherefore, this is my counsell and you wyll bée aduertysed by me; for³ I saye to you all, vnlesse it be this good wyfe, who is chééfely touched in this matter, I haue the nexte cause; for hée was in hande wyth me not longe a goe, and companye had not bene present, which was by a meruelous chaunce, he hadde, I thinke, forced me. For often hée hath bene tempering⁴ with me, and yet haue I sharpely sayde him

¹ *should.* B.² 1573 reads *case*³ Omitted in 1573.⁴ 1573 reads *tempting*

naye: therefore, let vs assemble secretly into the place where hée hathe apuynted to méete thys gyllot that is at your house, and lyrke preuelye in some corner tyll hée begyn to goe aboute his busines. And then me thought I harde you saye euen now that you had a watche word, at which word we wyll all stepforth, beinge fine of vs besydes you, for you shalbe none because it is your husbande, but gette you to bed at your accustomed houre. And we wyll earye eche of vs¹ good byrchen rodde in our lappes, and we will all be muffled for knowing, and se that you goe home and acquaynt that walking Morte with the matter; for we must haue her helpe to hold, for alwaies foure must hold and two lay one.' 'Alas!' sayth this good wyfe, 'he is to stronge for you all. I would be loth, for my sake you should receaue harme at his hande.' 'feare you not,' quoth these stout women, 'let her not geue the watch word vntyl his hosen be about his legges. And I trowe we all wylbe with him to bring before he shall haue leasure to plucke them vp againe.' They all with on voyce ag[r]ed to the matter, that the way she had deuised was the best: so this good wyfe repaired home; but before she departed from her gossypes, she shewed them at what houre they should preuelye come in on *the* backsid, *and* where to tary their good our: so by *the* time she came in, it was all most night, and found the walking Morte still setting by the fyre, and declared to her all this new deuysed aboue sayd, which promised faythfully to full fyll to her small powre as much as they hadde deuysed: within a quarter of anoure after, in *commeth* the good man, who said that he was about his cattell. "Why, what haue we here, wyfe, setting by the fyre? *and* yf she haue eate and dronke, send her into the barne to her lodging for this night, for she troubeleth the house." "Euen as you wyll husbande," sayth his wyfe; "you knowe she *commeth* once in two yeres into these [deaf 23] quarters. Awaye," saythe this good wyfe, "to your lodginge." "Yes, good dame," sayth she, "as fast as I can:" thus, by loking one² on the other, eche knewe others mynde, and so departed to her comely couche: the good man of the house shrodge hym for Ioye, thinking to hym selfe, I wyll make some pastyme with you anone. And calling to his wyfe for hys sopper, set

¹ B. inserts *a*² *won*. B.

him downe, and was very plesant, and dranke to his wyfe, *and* fell to his mammerings, and mounched a pace, nothing vnderstanding of the banquet that¹ was a preparing for him after sopper, *and* according to the prouerbe, that swete meate wyll haue sowre sawce : thus, when he was well refreshed, his sprietes being reuyued, entred into familiare talke with his wife, of many matters, how well he had spent that daye to both there proffytes, sayinge some of his cattell² were lyke to haue bene drowned in the dyches, dryuinge others of his neyghbours cattell out that were in his pastures, *and* mending his fences that were broken downe. Thus profitably he had consumed the daye, nothinge talking of his helping out of the walkinge Morte out of the myre, nether of his request nor yet of her³ promisse. Thus feding her *with* frendly fantacyes, consumed two houres and more. Then fayninge howe hée would se in what case his horse were in and howe they were dressed, Repaired couertly into the barne, where as his frée[n]dlye foes lyrked preuely, vnlesse it were this manerly Morte, that comly couched on a bottell of strawe. “What, are you come?” quoth she; “by the masse, I would not for a hundreth pound that my dame should knowe that you were here, eyther any els of your house.” “No, I warrant the,” sayth this good man, “they be all safe and fast ynough at their woorke, and I wylbe at mine anon.” And laye downe by her, and strayght would haue had to do *with* her. “Nay, fye,” sayth she, “I lyke not this order: if ye lye with me, you shall surely vntrus you *and* put downe your hosen, for that way is most easiest and best.” “Sayest thou so?” quoth he, “now, by my trouth agreed.” And when he had vntrussed him selfe and put downe, he began to assalt the vnsatiable⁴ fort “Why,” quoth she, that was with out shame, sauinge for her promes, “And are you not ashamed?” “neuer a whyte,” sayth he, “lye downe quickly.” “Now, fye, for shame, fye,” sayth shée a loude, whyche was the watche word. At the which word, these fyue furions, sturdy, muffled gossypes flynges oute, and takes sure holde of this be trayed parson, sone⁵ pluckinge his hosen downe lower, and byndinge the same fast about his féete ;

¹ B. omits *that*² B. inserts *that*³ 1573 reads *his*⁴ B. reads *vnсанable*, or *vnсанable*⁵ 1573 reads *some*

then byndinge his handes, and knitting a hande charcher about his eyes, that he shoulde not sée; and when they had made hym sure and fast, Then they layd him one vntyll they weare windles. “Be good,” sayth this Morte, “vnto my maister, for the passion of God,” [leaf 23, ba ·k] and layd on as fast as the rest, and styll ceased not to crye vpon them to bée mercyfull vnto hym, and yet layde on a pace; and when they had well beaten hym, that the bloud braste plenti-fullye oute in most places, they let hym lye styll bounde. With this exhortation, that he shoulde from that tyme forth knowe his wyfe from other mens, and that this punishment was but a flebyting in respect of that which should followe, yf he amended not his manners. Thus leuyng hym blustering, blowing, and fominge for payne, and malyncolye that hée neither might or coulede be reuenged of them, they vanyshed awaye, and hadde thys Morte with them, and safely conuayde her out of the towne: sone after commeth into the barne one of the good mans boyes, to fet some haye for his horse. And fyndinge his maister lyinge faste bounde and greuonslye beaten with rodes, was sodenly abashed and woulde haue runne out agayne to haue called for helpe; but his maister bed hym come vnto hym and vnbynd hym; “and make no wordes,” quoth he, “of this. I wylbe reuenged well inoughe;” yet not with standinge, after better aduyse, the matter beinge vn timerly, he thought it meter to let the same passe, and, not, as the prouerbe saythe, to awake the sleping dogge. “And, by my trouth,” quoth this walkinge Morte, “I come nowe from that place, and was neuer there sythens this parte was playde, whiche is some what more then a yere. And I here a very good reporte of hym now, that he loueth his wyfe well, and vseth hym selfe verye honestlye; and was not this a good acte? nowe, howe saye you?” “It was pretely handeled,” quoth I, “and is here all?” “Yea,” quoth she, “here is the ende.”

¶ A DOXE. Cap. 20.

THESE Doxes be broken and spoyled of their maydenhead by the vpright men, and then they haue their name of Doxes, and not afore. And afterwarde she is commen and indifferent for any that wyl vse her, as *homo* is a commen name to all men. Such

as be fayre and some what handsome, kepe company with the walkinge Mortes, and are redye alwayes for the vpwright men, and are cheifely mayntayned by them, for others shalbe spoyled for their sakes: the other, inferior, sort wyll resorte to noble mens places, and gentlemens houses, standing at the gate, eyther lurkinge on the backesyde about backe houses, eyther in hedge rowes, or some other thycket, expectinge their praye, which is for the vncomely company of some curteous gest, of whome they be refreshed with meate and some money, where eschaunge is made, ware for ware: this bread and meate they vse to carrye in their [leaf 24] greate hosen; so that these beastlye brybinge¹ bréeches serue manye tymes for bawdye purposes. I chaunced, not longe sithens, familiarly to commen with a Doxe that came to my gate, and surelye a pleasant harlot, and not so pleasant as wytty, and not so wytty as voyd of all grace and goodnes. I founde, by her talke, that shée hadde passed her tyme lewdlye eyghttene yeares in walkinge aboute. I thoughte this a necessary instrument to attayne some knowledge by; and before I woulde grope her mynde, I made her both to eate and drynke well; that done, I made her faythfull promisse to geue her some money, yf she would open and dyscouer to me such questions as I woulde demaunde of her, and neuer to b'e wraye her, neither to disclose her name. "And you shoulde," sayth she, "I were vndon:" "feare not that," quoth I; "but, I praye the," quoth I, "say nothing but truth." "I wyll not," sayth sh'e. "Then, fyrste tell me," quoth I, "how many vpwright men and Roges dost thou knowe, or hast thou knowne and byn conuersaunt with, and what their names be?" She paused a whyle, and sayd, "why do you aske me, or wherefore?" "For nothing els," as I sayde, "but that I woulde knowe them when they came to my gate." "Nowe, by my trouth" (quoth she) "then are yea neuer the neare, for all myne acqayntaunce, for the moste parte, are deade." "Dead!" quoth I, "howe dyed they, for wante of cherishinge, or of paynefull diseases?" Then she sighed, and sayde they were hanged. "What, all?" quoth I, "and so manye walke abroad, as I dayelye see?" "By my trouth," quoth she, "I

¹ *bryberinge*. B.

knowe not paste six or seuen by their names," and named the same to me. "When were they hanged?" quoth I. "Some seuen yeares a gone, some thrée yeares, and some *with*in this fortnight," and declared the place where they weare executed, which I knewe well to bee true, by the report of others. "Why" (quoth I) "dyd not this sorrowfull and fearefull sight much grene the, and for thy tyme longe and enyll spent?" "I was sory," quoth shée, "by the Masse; for some of them were good louing men. For I lackt not when they had it, and they wanted not when I had it, and diuers of them I neuer dyd forsake, vntyll the Gallowes departed vs." "O, mercyfull God!" quoth I, and began to blesse me. "Why blesse ye?" quoth she. "Alas! good gentleman, every one muste haue a lyuinge." Other matters I talked of; but this nowe maye suffice to shewe the Reader, as it weare in a glasse, the bolde beastly lyfe of these Doxes. For suche as hath gone anye tyme abroade, wyll neuer forsake their trade, to dye therefore. I haue hadde good profe thereof. There is one, a notorious harlot, of this affinitye, called Besse Bottomelye; she hath but one hande, and she hath murdered two children at the least.

[leaf 21, back]

¶ A DELL. Cap. 21.

A Dell is a yonge wenche, able for generation, and not yet knownen or broken by the vpright man. These go abroade yong, eyther by the death of their parentes, and no bodye to looke vnto them, or els by some sharpe mystres that they serue, do runne away out of seruice; eyther she is naturally borne one, and then she is a wyld Dell: these are broken verye yonge; when they haue b'ene lyen with all by the vpright man, then they be Doxes, and no Dels. These wylde dels, beinge traded vp with their monstrous mothers, must of necessity be as euill, or worsse, then their parents, for neither we gather grapes from gréene bryars, neither fygs from Thystels. But such buds, such blossoms, such enyll sede sowen, wel worsse beinge growen.

¶ A KYNCHIN MORTE. Cap. 22.

A Kynching Morte is a lytle Gyrl: the Mortes their mothers carries them at their backes in their slates, whiche is their shetes, and bryngs them vp sauagely¹, tyll they growe to be rype, and soone rype, soone rotten.

¶ A KYNCHEN Co. Cap. 23.

A Kynchen Co is a young boye, traden vp to suche peuishe purposes as you haue harde of other young ympes before, that when he groweth vnto yeres, he is better to hang then to drawe forth.

¶ THEIR VSAGE IN THE NIGHT. Cap. 24.

NOW I thinke it not vnecessary to make the Reader vnderstand how and in what maner they lodge a nights in barnes or backe houses, and of their vsage there, for asmuch as I haue acquaynted them with their order and practises a day times. The arche and chiefe walkers that hath walked a long time, whose experience is great, because of their continuinge practise, I meane all Mortes and Doxes, for their handsomnes and diligence for making of their couches. The men neuer trouble them selues with *that* thing, but takes the same to be the dutye of *the* wyfe. And she shuffels vp a quayntitye of strawe or haye into some pretye carner of the barne [leaf 25] where she maye conuenientlye lye, and well shakethe the same, makinge the heade some what hye, and dryues the same vpon the sydes and fete lyke abed: then she layeth her wallet, or some other lytle pack of ragges or scrype vnder her heade in the strawe, to beare vp the same, and layethe her petycote or cloke vpon and ouer the strawe, so made lyke a bedde, and that serueth for the blanket. Then she layeth her slate, which is her sheete, vpon that; and she haue no shéet^e, as fewe of them goe without, then she spreddeth some large cloutes or rags ouer the same, and maketh her ready, and layeth her drouselye downe. Many wyll plucke of their smockes, and laye the same vpon them in stede of their vpper shéete, and all her other pelte and

¹ B. reads *safely*

trashe vpon her also ; and many lyeth in their snookes. And if the rest of her clothes in colde weather be not sufficient to kepe her warme, then she taketh strawe or haye to performe the matter. The other sorte, that haue not slates, but touble downe and couche a hogshead in their clothes, these bée styll lousye, and shall neuer be with out vermyn, vnlesse they put of their clothes, and lye as is a boue sayde. If the vpright man come in where they lye, he hath his choyse, and crepeth in close by his Doxe: the Roge hath his leauings. If the Morts or Doxes lye or be lodged in some Farmers barne, and the dore be ether locked or made fast to them, then wyl not the vpright man presse to come in, Vnles it be in barnes and oute houses standinge alone, or some distance from houses, which be commonly knowne to them, As saint Quintens, thrée Cranes of the vintrey, Saynt Tybbes, and Knapsbery. These foure be with in one myle compasse neare vnto London. Then haue you iiij. more in Middlesex, drawe the pudding out of the fyre in Harrow on the hyll parish, the Crose Keyes in Cranford¹ parish, Saynt Iulyans in Thystell worth parish, the house of pyty in Northhall parysh. These are their chiefe houses neare about London, where commonly they resorte vnto for Lodginge, and maye repaire thether freelye at all tymes. Sometyme shall come in some Roge, some pyckinge knaue, a nymble Prygge; he walketh in softly a nightes, when they be at their rest, and plucketh of as many garmentes as be ought worth that he maye come by, and worth money, and maye easely cary the same, and runneth a waye with the same with great seleritye, and maketh porte sale at some conuenient place of theirs, that some be soone ready in the morning, for want of their Casters *and* Togemans. Where in stéede of blessinge is cursing; in place of praying, pestelent prating with odious othes *and* terrible threatninges. The vpright men haue geuen all these nycke names to the places aboue sayde. Y[e]t haue [leaf 25, back] we two notable places in Kent, not fare from London: the one is betwene Detforde and Rothered, called the Kynges barne, standing alone, that they haunt commonly; the other is Ketbroke, standinge by blacke heath, halfe a myle from anye house. There wyl they they boldlye drawe the lache of the doore, and

¹ 1573 reads *Crayford*.

go in when the good man with hys famly be at supper, and syt downe without leaue, and eate and drinke with them, and either lye in the hall by the fyre all night, or in *the* barne, if there be no rome in the house for them. If the doore be eyther bolted or lockt, if it be not opened vnto them when they wyl, they wyl breake the same open to his farther cost. And in this barne sometyne do lye xl. vpright men with their Doxes together at one time. And this must the poore Farmer suffer, or els they threaten him to burne him, and all that he hath.

THE NAMES OF THE VPRIGHT MEN, ROGES, AND PALLYARDS.

Here followeth the vnryle rablement of rascals, and the moste notoryous and wyckedst walkers that are lyuinge nowe at this present, with their true names as they be called and knowne by. And although I set and place here but thre orders, yet, good Reader, vnderstand that all the others aboue named are deriued and come out from the vpright men and Roges. Concerning the number of Mortes and Doxes, it is superfluous to wryte of them. I could well haue don it, but the number of them is great, and woulde aske a large volume.

¶ UPRIGHT MEN.

A. ¹	D.	E.
Antony Heymer.	Dowzabell skylfull in	Edmund Dun, a sing-
Antony Iackson.	fence.	ing man.
	Dauid Coke.	Edward Skinner, <i>alias</i>
B.	Dyeke Glouer.	Ned Skinner.
Burfet.	Dyeke Abrystowe.	Edward Browne.
Bryan medcalfe.	Dauid Edwardes.	F.
	Dauid Holand.	Follentine Hylles.
C.	Dauid Iones.	Fardinando angell.
Core the Cuckold.		Fraunces Dawghton.
Chrystouer Cooke.		

¹ The arrangement in Bodley ed. is not alphabetical.

G.	John Gefirey.	K.
Gryffin.	John Goddard.	L.
Great Iohn Graye.	John Graye the lytle.	Lennard Iust.
George Marrinar.	John Graye the great.	Long Gréene.
George Hutchinson.	John Wylliams the Longer.	Laurence Ladd.
H.		Laurence Marshall.
Hary Hylles, alias Harry godepar.	John Horwood, a maker of wels; he wyll take halfe his bargayne in hand, <i>and</i> when hee hath wrought ii. or iii. daies, he runneth away with his earnest.	M.
[leaf 26] Harry Agglyntine.		N.
Harry Smyth, he driueleth when he speaketh.		Nicolas Wilson.
Harry Ionson.	John Peter.	Ned Barington.
	John Porter.	Ned Wetherdon.
		Ned holmes.
I.		O.
Iames Barnard.	John Appowes.	P.
Iohn Myllar.	John Arter.	Phyllype Gréene.
Iohn Walchman.	John Bates.	Q.
Iohn Iones.	John Comes.	R.
Iohn Teddar.	John Chyles, <i>alias</i> great Chyles.	Robart Grauenier.
Iohn Braye.	John Leuet; he maketh tappes and fausets.	Robart Gerse.
Iohn Cutter.	John Louedall, a maister of fence.	Robart Kynge.
Iohn Bell.	John Louedale.	Robart Egerton.
Iohn Stephens.	John Mekes.	Robart Bell, brother to Iohn Bell.
Iohn Graye.	John Appowell.	Robart Maple.
Iohn Whyte.	John Chappell.	Robart Langton.
Iohn Rewe.	John Gryffen.	Robyn Bell.
Iohn Mores.	John Mason.	Robyn Toppe.
Iohn a Farnando.	John Humfrey, with the lame hand.	Robart Brownsword, he werith his here long.
Iohn Newman.	John Stradling, with the shaking head.	Robart Curtes.
Iohn Wyn, <i>alias</i> Wylliams.	John Franke.	Rychard Brymmysh.
Iohn a Pycons.	John Baker.	Rychard Iustyce.
Iohn Tomas.	John Bascafeld.	Rychard Barton.
Iohn Arter.		
Iohn Palmer, <i>alias</i> Tod.		

Rychard Constance.	Thomas Graye, his toes	Wylliam Chamborne.
Rychard Thomas.	be gone.	Wylliam Pannell.
Rychard Cadman.	Tom Bodel.	Wylliam Morgan.
Rychard Scategood.	Thomas Wast.	Wylliam Belson.
Rychard Apryce.	Thomas Dawson <i>alias</i>	Wylliam Ebes.
Rychard Walker.	Thomas Iacklin.	Wylliam Garret.
Rychard Coper.	Thomas Basset.	Wylliam Robynson.
	Thomas Marchant.	Wylliam Vmberuile.
S.	Thomas Web.	Wylliam Dauids.
Steuken Neuet.	Thomas Awefeld.	Wyll Pen.
	Thomas Gybbins.	Wylliam Iones.
T.	Thomas Lacon.	Wyll Powell.
Thomas Bulloke. [leaf	Thomas Bate.	Wylliam Clarke.
26, back]	Thomas Allen.	Water Wirall.
Thomas Cutter.	V.	Wylliam Browne.
Thomas Garret.		Water Martyne. ¹
Thomas Newton.	W.	Wylliam Grace.
Thomas Web.	Welarayd Richard.	Wylliam Pyckering.

ROGES.

A.	G.	John Elson.
Arche Dowglas, a Scot.	George Belberby.	John Raynoles, Irysh man.
B.	Goodman.	John Harrys.
Blacke Dycke.	Gerard Gybbin, a counterfet Cranke.	Iames Monkaster, a counterfet Cranke.
C.	H.	John Dewe.
D.	Hary Walles, with the lytle mouth.	John Crew, with one arme.
Dycke Durram.	Humfrey ward.	John Browne, great stamerar.
Dauid Dew neuet, a counterfet Cranke.	Harry Mason.	
E.	I.	L.
Edward Ellys.	John Warren.	Lytle Dycke.
Edward Anseley.	John Donne, with one legge.	Lytle Robyn.
F.		Lambart Rose.

¹ Omitted in 1573 edit.

M.	sonder <i>with</i> his	Thomas Smith, <i>with</i>
More, burnt in the	téeth, and a bawdye	the skald skyn. ³
hand. ¹	[leaf 27] dronkard.	
N.	Richard Crane; he	W.
Nicholas Adames, a	carieth a Kynchne	Wylliam Carew.
great stamerar. ²	Co at his backe.	Wylliam wastfield.
Nycholas Crispyn.	Rychard Iones.	Wylson.
Nycholas Blunt <i>alias</i>	Raffe Ketley.	Wylliam Gynkes, with
Nycholas Gennings,	Robert Harrison.	a whyte bearde, a
a counterfet Cranke.	S.	lusty and stronge
Nycholas Lynch.	Simon Kynge.	man; he runneth
R.	T.	about the countrey
Rychard Brewton.	Thomas Paske.	to séeke worke, with
Rychard Horwod, well	³ Thomas Bere.	a byg boy, his sonne
nere lxxx. yeares	Thomas Shawnean,	caryng his toles as
olde; he wyll byte	Irish man.	a dawber or plays-
a vi. peny nayle a		terer, but lytle worke
		serueth him.

¶ PALLYARDS.

B.	Edward Lewes, a dum-	Iohn Fysher.
Bashford.	merer.	Iohn Dewe.
D.	H.	Iohn Gylford, Irish,
Dycke Sehan Irish.	Hugh Iones.	<i>with</i> a counterfet
Dauid Powell.	I.	lisence.
Dauid Iones, a coun-	Iohn Perse, ⁴ a counter-	L.
terfet Crank.	fet Cranke.	Laurence with the
E.	Iohn dauids.	great legge.
Edward Heyward, hath	Iohn Harrison.	N.
his Morte following	Iohn Carew.	Nycholas Newton, cari-
him, which fained	Iames Lane, with one	eth a fained lisence.
the Cranke.	eye, Irish.	Nicholas Decase.

¹ Omitted in 1573 ed.² Last three words omitted in 1573 ed.³ The 1573 ed. arranges these names in the following order:—

Thomas Béere.

Irish man.

Thomas Smith with the
skalde skin.

Thomas Shawneam.

⁴ The 1573 ed. reads *Persk*

P.	Richard Thomas.	Thomas Davids.
Prestone.		Wylliam Thomas.
R.	S.	Wylliam Coper with the Harelyp.
Robert Lackley.	Soth gard.	
Robert Canloke.	Swanders.	Wyll Pettyt, beareth a Kinchen mort at his back.
Richard Hylton, cary- eth ii. Kynchen mortes about him.	T. Thomas Edwards.	Wylliam Bowmer.

There is aboute an hundreth of Irish men and women that wander about to begge for their lyuing, that hath come ouer within these two yeares. They saye the[y] haue béene burned and spoyled by the Earle of Desmond, and report well of the Earle of Vrmond.

¶ All these aboute wryten for the most part walke about Essex, Myddlesex, Sussex, Surrey, and Kent. Then let the reader iudge what number walkes in other Shieres, I feare me to great a number, if they be well vnderstande.

[leaf 27, back]

¹Here followyth their pelting speche.¹

Here I set before the good Reader the leud, lousey language of these lewtering Luskés and lasy Lorrels, where with they bye and sell the common people as they pas through the countrey. Whych language they terme Peddelars Frenche, a vnknown tounge onely, but to these bold, beastly, bawdy Beggars, and vaine Vacabondes, being halfe myngled with Englyshe, when it is famyliarlye talked, and fyrste placinge thinges by their proper names as an Introduction to this penyse spéeche.

Nab, a head.	a pratling chete, a tounge.	quaromes, a body.
Nabchet, a hat or cap.	Crashing chetes, téeth.	prat, a buttocke.
Glasyers, eyes.	Hearing chetes, eares.	stampes, legges.
a smelling chete, a nose.	fambles, handes.	a caster, a cloke.
gan, a mouth.	a fambling chete, a rynge on thy hand.	a togeman, a cote.

¹ B. omits.

a commission, a shierte.	quier, nought.	a praucer, a horse.
drawers, hosen.	a gage, a quarte pot.	autem, a church.
stampers, shoos.	a skew, a cuppe.	Salomon, a alter or masse.
a moffling chete, a napkyn.	pannam, ¹ bread.	patrico, a priest.
a belly chete, an apern.	cassan, chéese.	nosegent, a Nunne.
dudes, clothes.	yaram, ² mylke.	a gybe, a writinge.
a lag of dudes, a bucke of clothes.	lap, butter milke or whey.	a Iarke, a seale.
a slate or slates, a shéete or shetes.	[leaf 28] pek, meate.	a ken, a house.
lybbege, a bed.	poppelars, porrage.	a staulinge ken, a house that wyl re- ceaeue stolen ware.
bunge, a pursse.	ruff pek, baken.	a bousing ken, a ale house.
lowre, mony.	a grunting chete or a patricos kynchen,	a Lypken, a house to lye in.
mynt, golde.	a pyg.	a Lybbege, a bedde.
a bord, a shylling.	a cakling chete, a cocke or capon.	a glymmar, fyre.
halfe a borde, sixe pence.	a margery prater, a hen.	Rome bouse.
flagg, a groate.	a Roger or tyb of the buttery, a Goose.	wyne.
a wyn, a penny.	a quakinge chete or a red shanke, a drake or ducke.	lage, water.
a make, a halfepenye.	grannam, corne.	a skypper, a barne.
bowse, drynke.	a lowhinge chete, a Cowe.	strommell, strawe.
bene, good.	a bletinge chete, a calfe or shéepe.	a gentry cofes ken, A noble or gentlemans house.
benshyp, very good.		a gygger, a doore.

¹ The 1573 ed. reads *Yannam*² B. reads *yaram*. The 1573 ed. reads *Param*

buse, a dogge.	the hygh pad, the hygh waye.	to towre, to sée.
the lightmans, the daye.	the ruffmans, the wodes or bushes.	to bowse, to drynke.
the darkemans, the nyght.	a smellinge chete, a garden or orchard.	to maunde, to aske or requyre.
Rome vyle, London.	crassinge chetes, apels, pearces, or anye other frute.	to stall, to make or ordaine.
dewse a vyle, the countrey.	to fylche, to beate, to stryke, to robbe. ²	to cante, to speake.
Rome mort, the Quene.	to nyp a bounge, to cut a pursse.	to myll a ken, to robbe a house.
a gentry cofe, a noble or gentleman.	To skower the cramp- rings, [leaf 28, back] to weare boltes or fetters.	to prygge, to ryde.
a gentry morte, A noble or gentle woman.	to heue a bough, to robbe or rifle a boew- eth.	to dup the gyger, to open the doore.
the quyer cuffyn, ¹ the Iusticer of peace.	to cly the gerke, to be whyped.	to couch a hogshead, to lye downe and sléepe.
the harman beek, the Counstable.	to cutte benle, ³ to speake gently.	to nygle, to haue to do with a woman carnally.
the harmans, the stockes.	to cutte bene whydds, to speake or geue good wordes.	stow you, holde your peace.
Quyerkyn, a pryson house.	to cutte quyrewhyddes, to geue euell wordes or euell language.	bynge a waste, go you hence.
Quier crampringes, boltes or fetters.	to cutte quyrewhyddes, to geue euell wordes or euell language.	to the ruffian, to the deuell.
tryninge, hanginge.	to cutte, to saye.	the ruffian cly the, the deuyll take thée.
chattes, the gallowes.		

¶ The vpright Cofe canteth to the Roge.⁴

The vpright man speaketh to the Roge.

VPRIGHTMAN.⁵

Bene Lightmans to thy quarromes, in what lipken hast thou
lypped in this darkemans, whether in a lybbege or in the strummell?

¹ *custyn*. B.

² For these two lines printed in small type, the 1573 edition reads,

To fylche
to robbe

³ *benie*. B.

⁴ *Roger*. B.

⁵ *man*. B.

God morrowe to thy body, in what house hast thou lyne in all night,
whether in a bed, or in the strawe?

ROGE.

I couched a hogshead in a Skypper this darkemans.
I layd¹ me downe to sléepe in a barne this night.

VPRIGHT MAN.²

I towre the strummel trine vpon thy nabchet³ *and* Togman.
I sée the strawe hang vpon thy cap and coate.

ROGE.

I saye by the Salomon I will lage it of with a gage of benebouse;
then cut to my nose watch.

I sweare by the masse⁴, I wull washe it of with a quart of good drynke;
[leaf 20]⁵ then saye to me what thou wylt.

MAN. Why, hast thou any lowre in thy bonge to house?
Why, hast thou any money in thy purse to drinke?

ROGE. But a flagge, a wyn, and a make.
But a grot, a penny, and a halfe penny.

MAN. Why, where is the kene that hath the bene bouse?
where is the house that hath good drinke?

ROGE. A bene mort hereby at the signe of the prauncer.
A good wyfe here by at the signe of the hors.

MAN. I cutt it is quyer buose, I bousd a flagge the laste dark
mans.

I saye it is small and naughtye drynke. I dranke a groate there
the last night.

ROGE. But bouse there a bord, *and* thou shalt haue beneship.
But drinke there a shyllinge, and thou shalt haue very good.

Tower ye yander is the kene, dup the gygger, and maund that is
bene shyp.

Se you, yonder is the house, open the doore, and aske for the best.

¹ *laye*. B.

² B. omits *vpright*.

³ *nabches*. B.

⁴ *masst*. B.

⁵ This leaf is supplied in MS. in Mr Huth's edition.

MAN. This bouse is as bensh¹yp as rome bouse.

This drinke is as good as wyne.

Now I tower that bene bouse makes nase nabes.

Now I se that good drinke makes a dronken heade.

Maunde of this morte what bene pecke is in her ken.

Aske of this wyfe what good meate shee hath in her house.

ROGE. She hath a Cacling chete, a grunting chete, ruff Pecke,
cassan, and popplarr of yarum.

She hath a hen, a pyg, baken, chese and mylke porrage.

MAN. That is beneshyp to our watche.

That is very good for vs.

Now we haue well bousd, let vs strike some chete.

Nowe we haue well dronke, let us steale some thinge.

Yonder dwelleth a quyere cussen, it were beneship to myll hym.

Yonder dwelleth a hoggeshe and choyrlyshe man, it were very well donne
to robbe him.

ROGE. Nowe bynge we a waste to the hygh pad, the ruffmanes
is by.

Naye, let vs go hencee to the hygh waye, the wodes is at hand.

MAN. So may we happen on the Harmanes, and ely the Iarke,
or to the quyerken and skower quyaer cramprings, and so to tryning
on the chates.

[leaf 29, back] So we maye chaunce to set in the stoekes, eyther be whypped,
eyther had to prison house, and there be shackled with bolttes and fetters, and
then to hange on the gallowes.

Gerry gan, the ruffian elye thee.

A torde in thy mouth, the deuyll take thee.

MAN. What, stowe your bene, cofe, and cut benat whyddes, and
byng we to rome vyle, to nyp a bong; so shall we haue lowre for the
bousing ken, and when we byng back to the deuseauyel, we wyll
fylche some duddes of the Ruffemans, or myll the ken for a lagge of
dudes.

What, holde your peace, good fellowe, and speake better wordes, and go
we to London, to eut a purse; then shal we haue money for the ale house, and

¹ *good* in the 1573 ed.

when wee come backe agayne into the country, wee wyll steale some linnen clothes of one¹ hedges, or robbe some house for a bucke of clothes.

¶ By this lytle ye maye holy and fully vnderstande their vntowarde talke and pelting speache, mynglede without measure; and as they haue begonne of late to deuyse some new termes for certien thinges, so wyll they in tyme alter this, and deuyse as euyll or worsse. This language nowe beinge knowen and spred abroade, yet one thinge more I wyll ad vnto, not meaninge to Englyshe the same, because I learned the same² of a shameles Doxe, but for the phrase of speche I set it forth onely.

There was a proude patrico and a nosegent, he tooke his Iockam in his famble, and a wappinge he went, he dokte the Dell, hee pryge to praanee, he byngd a waste into the darke mans, he fylcht the Cofe, with out any fylch man.

WHyle this second Impression was in printinge, it fortuneth that Nycholas Blunte, who called hym selfe Nycholan Gennyns, a counterefet Cranke, that is spoken of in this booke, was fonde begging in the whyte fryers on Newe yeaes day last past, Anno domini .1567, and commytted vnto a offescer, who caried hym vnto the depetye of the ward, which commytted hym vnto the counter; *and* as the counstable and a nother would haue caried hym thether, This counterefet Cranke ran awaye, but one lyghter of fote then the other ouer toke hym, *and* so leading him to the counter, where he remayned three days, *and* from thence to Brydewell, where before the maister³ he had his dysgyssed aparell put vpon hym, which was monstros to beholde, And after stode in Chepesyde *with the* same apparil on a scaffold.⁴

A Stockes to staye sure, and safely detainne,
Lasy lewd Leutterers, that lawes do offend,
Impudent persons, thus punished with payne,
Hardlye for all this, do meane to amende.

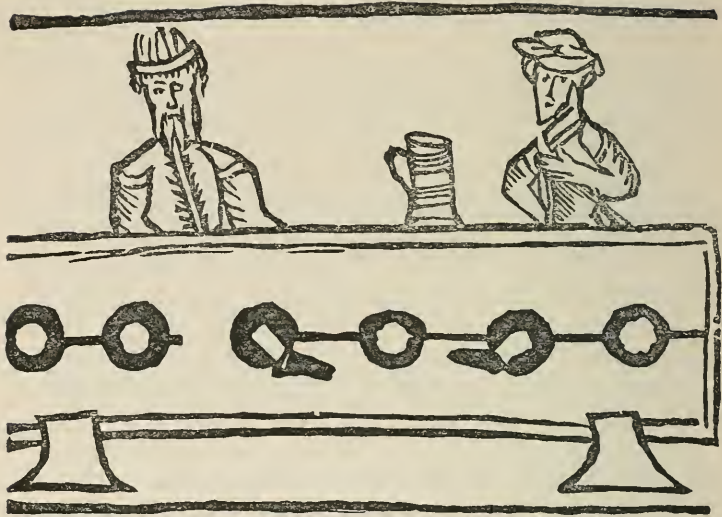
[leaf 30]

¹ The 1573 ed. has *some*

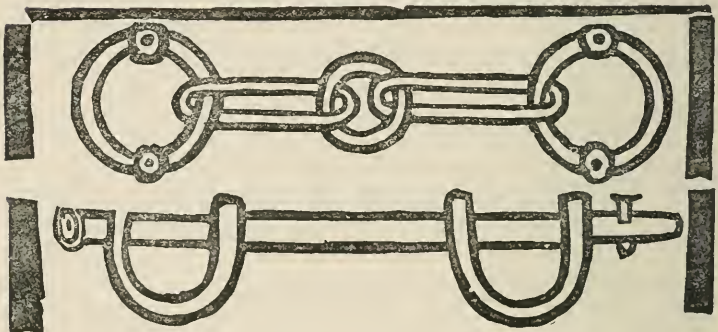
² Instead of "the same," the 1573 ed. reads *that*

³ *maisters*. B.

⁴ This paragraph is omitted in the ed. of 1573; but see note, *ante*, p. 56.



Fetters or shackles serue to make fast,
 Male malefactours, that on myschiefe do muse,
 Vntyll the learned lawes do quite or do cast,
 Such suttile searchers, as all euyll do vse.



{ A whyp is a whysker, that wyll wrest out blood, [lf 30, bk]
 { Of backe and of body, beaten right well.

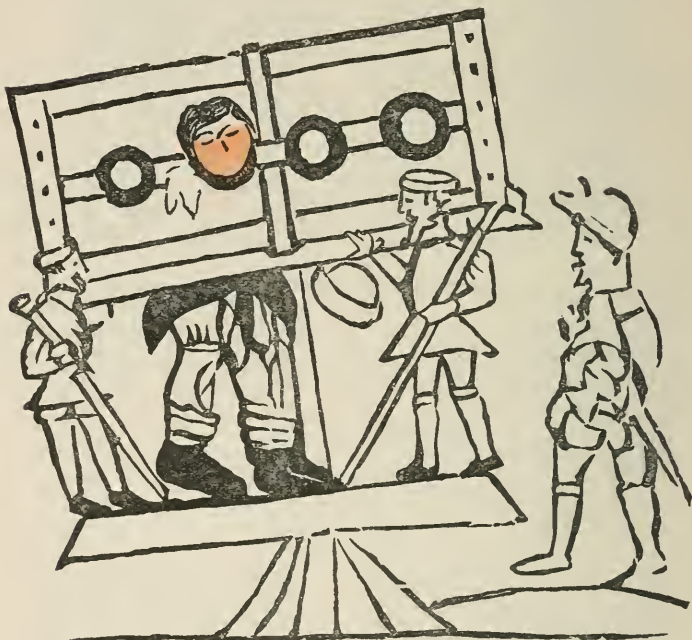
Of all the other it doth the most good,
 Experience techeth, and they can well tell.



¶ O dolefull daye ! nowe death draweth nere,
 Hys bytter styng doth pearce me to the harte.

I take my leaue of all that be here,
 Nowe piteously playing this tragicall parte.

Neither stripes nor teachings in tyme could conuert,
 wherefore an ensample let me to you be,
 And all that be present, nowe praye you for me.




¹ ¶ This counterfet Cranke, nowe vew and beholde,
 Placed in pyllory, as all maye well se :
 This was he, as you haue hard the tale tolde,
 before recorded with great suttylte,
 Ibused manye with his iupiete,
 his lothsome attyre, in most vgly manner,
 was through London caried with dysplayd banner.²

¹ B. omits this stanza and has inserted the following lines under the cut.

This is the figure of the counterfet Cranke, that is spoken of in this boke of Roges, called Nycholas Blunt other wyse Nycholas Gennyngs. His tale is in the xvii. lefe [pp. 55-6] of this booke, which doth shoue vnto all that reades it, wondrous suttell and crafty deseit donne of *and* by him.

² This verse is omitted in the edition of 1573 ; also the wood-cut preceding it.

 Thus I conclude my bolde Beggars booke,
That all estates most playnely maye see,
As in a glasse well pollyshed to looke,
Their double demeaner in eche degree.
Their lyues, their language, their names as they be,
That with this warning their myndes may be warmed,
To amend their mysdeedes, and so lyue vnharmed.

FINIS.

¶ Imprinted at London, in Fletestrete, at the signe of the Faulcon
by Wylliam gryffith. Anno Domni. 1567.¹

¹ B. adds 'the eight of January'. (This would make the year 1568 according to the modern reckoning. Harman's 'New Yeares day last past, Anno domini 1567', p. 86, must also be 1567½.)

A Sermon in Praise of Thiebes and Thiebery.

[*Lansdowne MS. 98, leaf 210.*]

A sermon made by Parson Haben vppon a mold hill at Hartely Row,¹ at the Comaundment of vij. theves, whoe, after they had robbed him, Comaunded him to Preache before them.

I Marvell that euerye man will seme to dispraise theverye, and thinke the doers thereof worthy of Death, when it is a thinge that Cometh nere vnto vertue, and is vsed of all men, of all sortes and in all countryes, and soe comaunded and allowed of god himselfe; which thinge, because I cannot soe sapiently shewe vnto you a² soe shorte a tyme and in soe shorte a place, I shall desire you, gentle theves, to take in good parte this thinge that at this tyme Cometh to minde, not misdoubtinge but you of your good knowledge are able to ad more vnto the same then this which I at this tyme shall shewe vnto you. ffirst, fortitude and stoutnes, Courage, and boldnes of stomacke, is Compted of some a vertue; which beinge graunted, Whoe is he then that will not Iudge theves vertuous, most stoute, most hardye? I most, withoute feare. As for stealinge, that is a thinge vsuall:—whoe stealeth not? ffor not only you that haue besett me, but many other in many places. Men, Woemen, and Children, Riche and poore, are dailey of that facultye, As the hange

¹ MS Rew. Hartley Row is on the South-Western road past Bagshot. The stretch of flat land there was the galloping place for coaches that had to make up time.

² in

A Sermon in Praise of Thiebes and Thiebery.

[MS. Cott. Vesp. A xxv. leaf 53.]

A sermon of parson Hyberdyne which he made att the commande-
mente of certen theves, after thay had Robbed hym, besydes
hartlerowe, in hamshyer, in the feldes, ther standinge vpon a
hyll where as a wynde myll had bene, in the presens of the
theves *that* robbed hym, as followithe.

the sermon as followethe

I greatly mervell *that* any man wyll presume to dysprase
theverie, *and* thynke the dooeres therof to be woorthy of deathe, con-
syderinge itt is a thyng that cumithe nere vnto vertue, beinge vsed
of many in all contries, And commendid *and* allowed of god hym
selfe; the *which* thinge, by-cause I cannot compendiously shew vnto
yow at soo shorte a warnynge *and* in soo sharpe a wether, I shaft
desyer yow, gentle audiens of theves, to take in good parte thes
thynges that at thys tyme cumythe to my mynde, not mysdowtynge
but *that* yow of yowre good knowledge are able to add much more
vnto ytt then this *which* I shaft nowe vtter vnto yow. ffyrst, forti-
tude, *and* stowtnes of corage, *and* also bowldnes of minde, is com-
mendyd of sume men to be a vertue; *which*, beinge grawnted, who
is yt then *that* wyll not iudge theves to be vertused? for thay be of
all men moste stowte *and* hardy, *and* moste withowte feare; for
thevery is a thyng moste vsuall emonge all men, for not only yow
that be here presente, but many other in dyuerse places, bothe men
and wemen *and* chyldren, ryche and poore, are dayly of thys facultye,

man of Tiborne can testifye. That it is allowed of god himselfe, it is euident in many storyes of the Scriptures. And if you liste to looke in the whole Course of the bible, you shall finde that theues haue bin belovide of god. ffor Iacobe, when he Came oute of Mesopotomia, did steale his vnclen lammes; the same Iacobe stole his brother Esawes blessinge; and that god saide, "I haue chosen Iacob and refused Esawe." The Children of Isarell, when they came oute of Egippe, didd steale the Egippsians Iewells and ringes, and god comaunded the[m] soe to doe. David, in the dayes of Ahemell[e]ch the preiste, came into the temple and stole awaye the shewe bread; And yet god saide, "this is a man accordinge to myne owne harte." Alsoe Christe himselfe, when he was here vppon earth, did take an asse, a Colte, which was none of his owne. And you knowe that god saide, "this is my nowne sone, in whome I delighte."

Thus maye you see that most of all god delighteth in theues. I marvell, therefore, that men can despise *your* lives, when that you are in all poynts almost like vnto Christe; for Christ had no dwellinge place,—noe more haue you. Christe, therefore, at the laste, was laide waite for in all places,—and soe are you. Christe alsoe at the laste was called for,—and soe shall you be. He was condemned,—soe shall you be. Christe was hanged,—soe shall you be. He descended into hell,—so shall you. But in one pointe you differ. He assendid into heaven,—soe shall you never, without gods mercye, Which god graunte for his mercyes sake! Toe whome, with the *sonne* and the holye goste, be all honour and glory for euer and euer. Amen!

After this good sermon ended, which Edefied them soe muche, Theye hadd soe muche Compassion on him, That they gave him all his mony agayne, and vijs more for his sermon.

as the hangman of tyboorne can testyfy: and that yt is allowed of god hym selfe, as it is euydente in many storayes of [the] scriptures; for yf yow looke in the hole cowrse of the byble, yow shall fynde that theves hane bene beloned of gode; for Iacobe, whan he came owte of Mesopotamia, dyd steale his vncle labanes kyddes; the same Iacobe also dyd steale his brothe[r] Esaues blessynge; *and* yett god sayde, "I haue chosen Iacobe *and* refused Esau." The chyl dren of ysraell, whan they came owte of Egypte, dyd steale the egiptians iewel les of syluer and gowlde, as god commawnded them soo to doo. Davyd, in the days of Abiather the hygh preste, did cume into the temple *and* dyd steale the hallowed breede; *and* yet god saide, "Dauid is a man euen after myne owne harte." Chryste hym selfe, whan he was here on the arthe, did take an asse *and* a cowlte that was none of hys; *and* yow knowe that god said of hym, "this is my beloued soone, in whome I delighte." thus yow may see that god delightithe in theves. but moste of all I marvell that men can dispyse yow theves, where as in all poyntes almoste yow be lyke vnto christe hym selfe: for chryste had noo dwellynge place; noo more haue yow. christe wente frome towne to towne; *and* soo doo yow. christe was hated of all men, sauynge of his freendes; and soo are yow. christe was laid waite vpon in many places; *and* soo are yow. chryste at the lengthe was cawght; *and* soo shaft yow bee. he was browght before the iudges; *and* soo shaft yow bee. he was accused; *and* soo shaft yow bee. he was condempned; *and* soo shaft yow bee. he was hanged; *and* so shaft yow bee. he wente downe into hell; *and* soo shaft yow dooe. mary! in this one thyng yow dyffer frome hym, for he rose agayne *and* assendid into heauen; *and* soo shaft yow neuer dooe, *withowte* godes greate mercy, which gode grawnte yow! to whome *with* the father, *and* the soone, *and* the hooly ghoste, bee all honore and glorie, for euer *and* euer. Amen!

Thus his sermon beinge endyd, they gaue hym his money agayne that thay tooke frome hym, *and* ij^s to drynke for hys sermon.

finis.

[The parts added to HARMAN'S CAUEAT to make]

THE

Groundworke of Conny-catching;
the manner of their Pedlers-French, and the meanes
to vnderstand the same, with the cunning slights

of the Counterfeit Cranke.

Therein are handled the practises of the *Visiter*,
the Fetches
of the Shifter and Rufflar, the deceits of their Doxes, the deuises
of Priggers, the names of the base lonytering Hosels, and
the meanes of euery Blacke-Art-mans shifts, with
the reproofe of all their diuellish
practises.

Done by a Justice of Peace of great authoritie, who hath
had the examining of diuers of them.

[large woodcut]

Printed at London by Iohn Danter for William Barley, and are to
be sold at his shop at the upper end of Gracious streete,
ouer against Tenden-hall, 1592.

[leaf 2]

To the gentle Readers health.

Gentle reader, as there hath beene diuers bookes set forth, as warnings for all men to shun the craftie coossenening sleights of these both men and women that haue tearmed themselues Conny-catchers ; so amongst the rest, bestow the reading ouer of this booke, wherin thou shalt find the ground-worke of Conny-catching, with the manner of their canting speech, how they call all things in their language, the horrible coossenening of all these loose varlots, and the names of them in their seuerall degrees,

- | | |
|---|--------------------------------------|
| <i>First, The Visiter.</i> | 12. <i>A Dommerar.</i> |
| 2. <i>The Shifter.</i> | 13. <i>A Dronken Tinkar.</i> |
| 3. <i>The Rufflar.</i> | 14. <i>A Swadder, or Pedler.</i> |
| 4. <i>The Rogue.</i> | 15. <i>A Iarkeman & Patrico.</i> |
| 5. <i>The wild Rogue.</i> | 16. <i>A demander for glimmer.</i> |
| 6. <i>A prigger of Prauncers.</i> | 17. <i>The bauldy Basket.</i> |
| 7. <i>A Pallyard.</i> | 18. <i>An Autem Mort.</i> |
| 8. <i>A Frater.</i> | 19. <i>A walking Mort.</i> |
| 9. <i>An Abraham man.</i> | 20. <i>A Dore.</i> |
| 10. <i>A freshwater Marriner, or
Whipiacke.</i> | 21. <i>A Dell.</i> |
| 11. <i>A counterfuit Cranke.</i> | 22. <i>Kinchin Mort.</i> |
| | 23. <i>A Kinchin Co.</i> |

All these playing their coossenings in their kinde are here set downe, which neuer yet were disclosed in anie booke of Conny-catching.

[leaf 2, back] A new kind of shifting sleight, practised at this day by
some of this Cony-catching crue, in Innes or vittualling
houses, but especially in Faires or Markets,
 which came to my hands since the im-
 printing of the rest.

Whereas of late diuers coossening deuises and deuilish deceites haue beene discouered, wherby great inconueniences haue beene eschewed, which otherwise might haue beene the vtter ouerthrowe of diuers honest men of all degrees, I thought this, amongst the rest, not the least worthie of noting, especially of those that trade to Faires and Markets, that therby being warned, they may likewise be armed, both to see the deceit, and shun the daunger. These shifters will come vnto an Inne or vittailing house, that is most vsed in the towne, and walke vp and downe; and if there come any gentlenian or other, to lay vp either cloke, sword, or any other thing woorth the hauing, then one of this crue taketh the marks of the thing, or at least the token the partie giueth them: anone, after he is gone, he likewise goeth forth, and with a great countenance commeth in againe to the mayde or seruant, calling for what another left: if they doubt to deliuer it, then hee frets, and calles them at his pleasure, and tels them the markes and tokens: hauing thus done, hee blames their forgetfulnes, and giues them a couple of pence to buy them pinnes, bidding them fetch it straight, and know him better the next time, wherewith they are pleasd, and he possesseth of his pray. Thus one gotte a bagge of Cheese the last Sturbridge Faire; for in such places (as a reclaimd fellow of that crue confessed) they make an ordinary practise of the same.

[*The Pedler's French* follows, taken word for word from Harman's book, p. 82-7 above.]

[leaf 5]

THE VISITER.

An honest youth, not many yeares since, seruant in this City, had leaue of his master at whitsontide to see his friends, who dwelt some fifty miles from London. It hapned at a Country wake, his mother and hee came acquainted with a precise scholler, that, vnder colour of strickt life, hath bin reputed for that hee is not: hee is well

known in Paules Churchyard, and hath beene lately a visiting in Essex; for so he presumes to tearme his cosening walks: and therefore wee will call him here a Visiter. This honest seeming man must needes (sith his iourney lay to London) stay at the yong mans mothers all the holy daies: where as on his desert hee was kindly vsed; at length, the young man, hauing receiued his mother's blessing, with other his friendes giftes, amounting to some ten poundes, was to this Hypocrite as to a faithful guide committed, and toward London they ride: by the way this Visiter discourses how excellent insight he had in Magick, to recouer by Art anything lost or stolne. Well, to sant Albons they reach; there they sup together, and, after the carousing of some quarts of wine, they go to bed, where they kindly sleepe,—the Visiter slyly, but the young man soundly. Short tale to make—out of his bed-fellow's sleeue this Visiter conuaid his twenty Angels, besides some other od siluer, hid it closely, and so fell to his rest. Morning comes—vp gets this couple—immediately the money was mist, much adoo was made; the Chamberlaine with sundry other seruants examined; and so hot the contention, that the good man, for the discharge of his house, was sending for a Constable to haue them both first searcht, his seruants Chests after. In the meane time the Visiter cals the yong man aside, and bids him neuer grieue, but take horse; and he warrants him, ere they be three miles out of towne, to helpe him to his money by Art, saying:—"In these Innes ye see how we shall be out-faced, and, beeing vnknowne, how euer we be wrongd, get little remedy." The yong man, in good hope, desired him to pay the reckoning, which done, together they ride. Being some two miles from the towne, they ride out of the ordinary way: there he tels this youth how vnwilling hee was to enter into the action, but that it was lost in his company, and so forth. Well, a Circle was made, wondrous words were vsed, many muttrings made: at length hee cries out,—“vnder a greene turfe, by the East side of an Oake; goe thither, goe thither.” This thrice he cryed so ragingly, as the yuong man gest him mad, and was with feare almost beside himself. At length, pausing, quoth this Visiter, “heard ye nothing cry?” “Cry!” said the yong man, “yes; [leaf 5, back] you eride so as, for twise ten pound, I would not heare ye

again." "Then," quoth he, "'tis all well, if ye remember the words." The yong man repeated them. With that this shifter said, "Go to the furthest Oke in the high-way towards S. Albons, and vnder a greene turfe, on the hither side, lyes your mony, and a note of his name that stole it. Hence I cannot stirre till you returne; neyther may either of our horses be vntide for that time: runne yee must not, but keepe an ordinary pace." Away goes the yong man gingerly; and, being out of sight, this copesmate takes his cloke-bag, wherein was a faire sute of apparel, and, setting spurres to his horse, was, ere the Nouice returned, ridde cleane out of his view. The yong man, seeing himselfe so coossened, made patience his best remedie, tooke his horse, and came to London, where yet it was neuer his lucke to meet this visiter.

A SHIFTER.

A Shifter, not long since, going ordinarily booted, got leaue of a Carrier to ride on his owne hackney a little way from London, who, comming to the Inne where the Carier that night should lodge, honestly set vp the horse, and entred the hal, where were at one table some three and thirty clothiers, all returning to their seuerall countries. Vsing, as he could, his curtesie, and being Gentleman-like attirde, he was at all their instance placed at the vpper end by the hostesse. After hee had a while eaten, he fel to discourse with such pleasance, that all the table were greatly delighted therewith. In the midst of supper enters a noise of musitions, who with their instruments added a double delight. For them hee requested his hostesse to laye a shoulder of mutton and a couple of capons to the fire, for which he would pay, *and* then mooued in their behalfe to gather. Among them a noble was made, which he fingring, was well blest; for before he had not a crosse, yet he promist to make it vp an angel. To be short, in comes the reckoning, which (by reason of the fine fare *and* excesse of wine) amounted to each mans halfe crown. Then hee requested his hostesse to prouide so many possets of sacke, as would furnish the table, which he would bestow on the Gentlemen to requite their extraordinary costs: *and* iestingly askt if she would

make him her deputie to gather the reckoning ; she graunted, and he did so : and on a sodaine, (faining to hasten his hostesse with the possets) he tooke his cloke, and, finding fit time, hee slipt out of doores, leauing the gwestes and their hostesse to a new reckoning, *and* the musitians to a good supper, but they paid for the sauce. This iest some vntruly attribute to a man of excellent parts about London, but he is slandered : the party that performed it hath scarce any good qualitie to liue. Of these sort I could set downe a great number, but I leaue you now vnto those which by Maister Harman are discouered.

[Then follows Harman's book, commencing with a Ruffelar, p. 29. The woodcut of Nicolas Blunt and Nicolas Geninges (p. 50, above) is given, and another one representing the Cranke after he was stripped and washed. The volume ends with the chapter "Their vsage in the night," p. 76-8 above,—the woodcuts and verses at the end of Harman's book being omitted in the present *Groundworke of Conny-catching*. The last words in the latter are, "And this must the poore Farmer suffer, or els they threaten to burne him, and all that he hath."]

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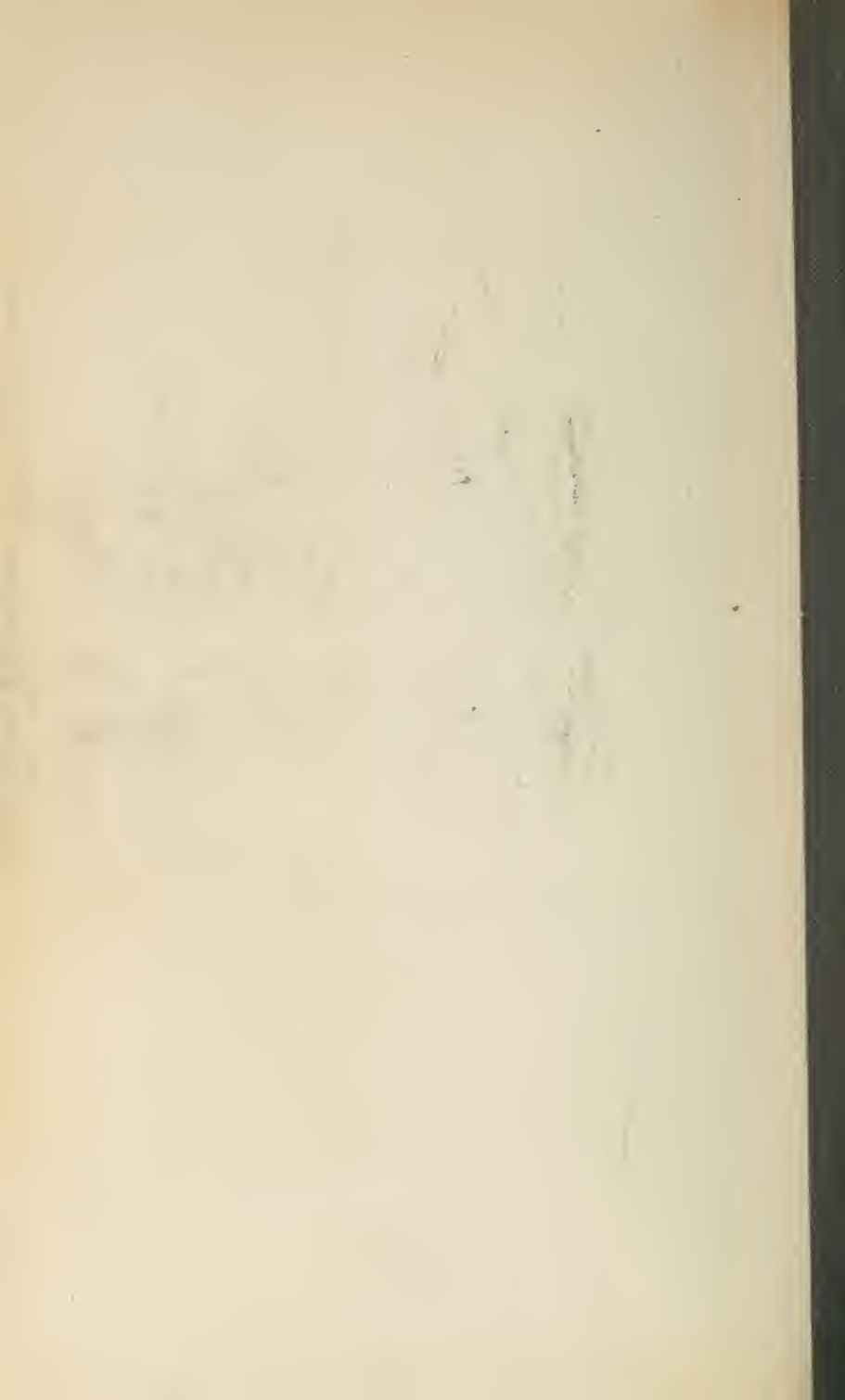
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